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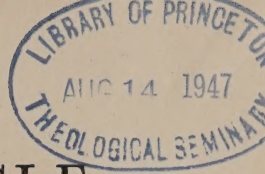
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L. K. KOONTZ
D. K. BJORK
C. N. HOWARD





CAROLINA CHRONICLE

The Papers of
Commissary Gideon Johnston
1707-1716

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES, BY

FRANK J. KLINGBERG

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TO
ELIZABETH WYSOR KLINGBERG
OF THE VOLUNTEER HISTORIANS
WHO SAVE EARLY AMERICAN RECORDS

PREFACE

THE PAPERS here presented are those in the Library of Congress collections. Commissary Gideon Johnston wrote to other correspondents, who may or may not have kept his letters. Further letters from this period of his life would undoubtedly be in the same vein. For historical purposes this collection is sufficiently full and continuous to give a complete view of South Carolina in the early years of the eighteenth century.

Acknowledgement for assistance is due to the University of California not only for annual research grants over a period of years, but also for the purchase of the complete photofilms of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Fulham and Lambeth Palace Collections, and the Bray Associates Collections. The acquisition of these materials was made possible through the coöperation of Dr. St. George Leakin Sioussat, Chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Now that these records are available in their entirety at the University of California, Los Angeles, the work of searching for and selecting a particular body of letters is a rewarding adventure.

Special indebtedness is due to my research assistant, Helen E. Livingston, who with great skill surveyed, deciphered, and transcribed the manuscripts. The love of discovery, the detective instinct, the knowledge of eighteenth-century penmanship and abbreviations of the period, have full scope in the use of microfilm by this gifted assistant. In addition, Miss Livingston prepared the Calendar, valuable in tracing Johnston's career and understanding the Papers.

For the index I am indebted to Ruth M. Winton.

Most particular thanks are due to the American Philosophical Society. By a welcome grant-in-aid this Society has supported the work and made the completion of this volume possible.

To secure greater unity in the papers of the Commissary, the materials dealing with the Yamasse Indian Prince have been omitted and will appear separately. Also omitted are twelve papers either of minor importance or which repeat information given in the other documents. Some of Johnston's letters have marginal notes in the transcript copies. These notes have been omitted and

all superior letters have been eliminated in the printing. No other changes have been made in the text. The Calendar has been added as an aid to the reader.

It is to be noted that double dates often appear, because March 25 was widely used as the beginning of the new year instead of January 1. A letter dated February 6, 1712/13, was written in 1713. When the Gregorian Calendar was adopted, in 1752, the March date disappeared as the beginning of the year.

University of California
Los Angeles, June, 1944

FRANK J. KLINGBERG

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INTRODUCTION

THE EXPANSION of Europe in the establishment of new communities cannot be assessed on a world-wide front at one blow, but must be examined area by area. The founding of farm colonies such as Massachusetts, or plantation colonies, such as South Carolina, is different from the penetration of India or equatorial Africa. In continental North America the white settler, even when outnumbered by Indians or Negro slaves, was nevertheless the dominant force. In the British West Indies the nonwhite stocks were so overwhelming in numbers, and the climate so dangerous, that white migration was a thin stream of traders, administrators, and soldiers. South Carolina, however, is closely identified with the Bahamas, Barbados, and Jamaica, where the question of possible white settlement was not quickly solved. Barbados, for example, began as a European colony inhabited almost entirely by thousands of Englishmen, and went through a transition ending in a black colony in which the European was almost as overwhelmed by numbers as in India or Africa itself. A similar fate overtook the white resident in Jamaica, and all efforts to prevent this development failed.

How profitable it is, therefore, to examine the early history of South Carolina, a colony midway between Massachusetts on the one hand and Jamaica on the other. The Jamaican feared rebellion and massacre and finally had to be protected against these disasters by imperial troops under British officers. In spite of repeated common protests with the continental American colonies against oppressive British enactments, this denouement made impossible the revolt of the island against the home country. Benjamin Franklin and others could not overcome fear of these dangers of insurrection in the course of negotiations intended to bring in all the island colonies against Britain. Bermuda listened to, and leaned toward, both sides during the years of the American Revolution.

It is interesting to note that the Yemassee War in South Carolina was suppressed by colonial militia, and colonial action alone, and that aid was sent by North Carolina, Virginia, and New England, showing that even this early a community of interest was strong and that self-defense was colonial at the beginning of the 1700's. True, appeals to England, in the case of South Carolina, were

made, but the lengthy discussions without action in London document the thesis that self-defense against insurrection was to be primarily a colonial responsibility. Mastery of the sea lanes and defense against major French and Spanish attacks was still an imperial responsibility. A growing population, however, on a large area of contiguous continental territory could assume increasing local authority. This growth of confidence in a new society like that of South Carolina enabled the colonist to modify or to shape consciously the future of his community and to include the slave in the process which we call Americanization. Upon the adjacent islands, insecurity sent the planter home to make his bequests and die as an Englishman. Colonel Christopher Codrington was one of many such examples, as is shown in his gifts to Oxford, but he also left a legacy to found a college in Barbados.

What was different, then, when the Briton stepped upon continental land? What gave him the determination, as with William Byrd, and these early South Carolinians, to build his home, his future, his tomb, upon the new soil? To examine all of the elements of a culture in transition and in process of major adaptation, the record must include a view of all layers of society, and an exact account of how the members of a new community, from blacksmith to rector, moved in and how each person undertook his work.

The eighteenth-century reporter of the American scene varied from the writer, like William Byrd, who, in the volumes of his *Diary* wrote data for his own use, to the professional or businessman who wrote on a specific subject of military and naval defense, of discovery and exploration, of Indian tribes and treaties, or of trade. Long wanted by scholars has been the story of the man whose assigned function it was to go among the people and report all the phenomena of colonial life.

In addition to the official contacts of many kinds, no American religious group was without connection with its home body. Quakers went back and forth on special religious missions. New England Puritans, who fought in Cromwell's army, returned to the New World. Pennsylvania Lutherans kept in touch with the University of Halle by methods very similar to those used by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.¹ The Huguenots

¹ *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, trans., Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein (Philadelphia, 1942), I, "Introduction," and *passim*.

did not at once lose all contact with France and today the Huguenot Church of Charleston still has its services in French. Presbyterians in the colonies had an obvious home base in the established state Church of Scotland. The Welsh, less fortunate in not having an officially recognized religion at home, nevertheless had constant accretions of folk from their mountainous motherland.

Most important of all the religious reporters were the hundreds of representatives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, who were instructed to give the most exact information that could be gleaned.² For this purpose, they had to collect data for a questionnaire twice a year. In addition, they were asked to report on numerous special questions pertaining to Indians, to Negroes, or to the white colonists. Moreover, they were encouraged to relate, independently of inquiry, any and all observations of their own on colonial society. This information in the age of Swift and DeFoe answered the interest in foreign adventure, colonial travel, primitive and pioneer life, missionary achievement, and empire expansion. These records from the colonial world won the financial support for the vast undertaking of the Society. It was supported not by taxes, but primarily by the wells of private charity. The exactness of eighteenth-century writing is shown even in business reports. The missionary, however, with his necessary data of adversity and achievement, covered the colonial scene as a whole better than any other observer.

Every colonist of every racial stock lived in a split world divided by the Atlantic Ocean. Whether he left home for his own or "his country's good," he suffered from the lack of much that he temporarily overlooked in his zeal for change and his expectancy of a new destiny. All immigrants found that they must build a new world in the transfer of culture from one home to another. Man cannot break with his whole past, however firmly he intends to snap one thread or another of his heritage. Never has there been a more magnificent expression of man's disgust at being marooned off a foreign shore and ignominiously rescued by "sloops and Boats, Perigoes and Canoos" than is to be found in Commissary Gideon Johnston's first letter of September 20, 1708, to his friend, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop

² Hereinafter referred to as the Society, or the S.P.G. The total numbers of missionaries sent to the American colonies before the American Revolution was three hundred fifty-three.

of Salisbury. It sums up for all time a traveler's first sense of consternation at the moment of beginning a new adventure.

Commissary Johnston arrived in South Carolina at a time when the colonial scene had already taken a definite shape.³ The selective process of emigration and the influence of environment had already produced a society different in numerous aspects from the one he had left. It is this fact that makes his reporting interesting and valuable. His fixed determination to set up a little England⁴ gave him a subject, and forced him in his eight years as commissary to measure every man, penetrate into every local institution, and to try to bend men and measures to his purposes. As the Bishop of London's representative,⁵ and later as an S.P.G. missionary as well, he proceeded with vigor and organizational skill to attain his ends. By way of contrast, Dr. Francis Le Jau, one of the ablest men of these early years in South Carolina, who had already experienced, in leaving France, the vicissitudes of adaptations to English society by his stay in Britain and as a missionary in the West Indies, proceeded gently and cautiously in his pioneering program.

Johnston approached his problems with resourcefulness and courage. Intelligent and analytical, he summed up the methods he

³ The duties of the commissary have been described by Frederick Dalcho, who wrote that "... a Commissary is appointed by a Bishop, to exercise ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in a *particular* part of his Diocese, where, from distance, or other cause, he cannot attend in Person. . . . The Commissary is to hold Visitations, to superintend the conduct of the Clergy, and generally to exercise the authority of *Official principal*, and *Vicar-General*. An appeal lies from the commissary to the archbishop." See Frederick Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (Charleston, 1820), p. 78. The powers of the commissary in the American colonies did not include either ordination or confirmation. A commissary with the full powers of a bishop would obviously have been a bishop in disguise under another name. The first Bishop, Samuel Seabury, of Connecticut, was consecrated in Aberdeen, Scotland, November, 1784, after American independence was an accomplished fact and bishops were no longer feared as arms of the British government.

⁴ A well-phrased statement of this philosophy is that of Edward Bishop who wrote to the S.P.G. in 1710, "I was not born for myself only, nor made a Minister to live always at home; my constitution is Constellated for any Meridian, and I shall be in England in any part of the World." See Edward Bishop to the Secretary, February 16, 1710, in S.P.G. MSS (Library of Congress Transcripts), A 6, No. XI.

⁵ The Bishop of London had the authority to act as colonial diocesan, dating back to the fact that the bishop was a member of the Virginia Company. See Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), pp. 8-18.

contemplated as useful in establishing the Church on the English model as the official Church of South Carolina. This end was to be accomplished not merely by legislative enactment, but by winning over the clergy of the Dissenting bodies, and by breaking their contacts with England and Scotland. For instance, he noted that there were three nationalistic groups of Dissenters, the English, the Scots, and the French Huguenots. Of these three, the French Huguenot group was already detached from its home base, and in the course of time was, as he surmised, to be largely incorporated into the Anglican Church.

Unlike New England, which was founded by refugees from the Anglican policy of Bishop William Laud, and which had twenty years of time, from 1640 to 1660, to become an established and solid Dissenting community,⁶ South Carolina was settled in 1670, after the Anglican Church had been reestablished in England as the state church, and throughout Carolina's whole colonial period Anglicanism remained the establishment at home. South Carolina developed in an age of growing religious toleration. Archbishop Laud's policy of uprooting all Dissenters was never tried again with quite his fierce intensity. Therefore, in the Colony, there was a more tolerant practice. The Dissenter, if a Calvinist, as already stated, had his home base in Scotland where Presbyterianism was the official religion. Commissary Johnston's letters make interesting references to this firm connection with Scotland. The Church of England people in South Carolina did not have the numerical ascendancy over the Dissenters as in England, nor, as Johnston lamented, the wish to reproduce the authoritarian regime of the English Church.

The parish congregation was accustomed to elect its rector in the Presbyterian manner. This practice, and other borrowings from the Dissenters, horrified the Commissary. The legislature set up the parishes and provided salaries for the clergy, but with the provision of lay control. Even the S.P.G. missionary felt the pull of the colonial climate of opinion, frequently asked for naturalization, and thus indicated that he viewed himself as a permanent resident. Johnston encountered what may be called the American

⁶ At Yale College, as late as 1755, students were required to "submit to a Fine as often as they attend the Worship of the Church of England." See *Abstract of the Proceedings of the S.P.G. for 1756* (London, 1756), p. 41.

temper when, after the reading of his authorization as commissary, his fellow clergy would not for some time attend another meeting in full force, although they had been meeting regularly four times a year.

The Commissary was unprepared for the American temper or for the fact that the immigrant, finding a vacant new land, regarded all material and institutional development as peculiarly his own handiwork. Hereditary authority was, therefore, suspect. He had not inherited his plantation. He had carved it out of the wilderness. He knew full well that he lacked the cultural riches of his home land and he himself wished to introduce these in his own way. He was sensitive to criticism of shortages and defects of various kinds. The Commissary's amazed comment on this stubborn rejection of all authoritarian power by the settlers occurs in every letter. The colonists were willing, he wrote, to make changes only "in their own time and way; so that what they will not do today, tho' the thing be never so reasonable and tho' they be never so much importuned to it, tomorrow they will freely fall into and do of themselves" (see below, pp. 64, 78). However, as early as the date of his arrival, South Carolina was already stratified. He found some colonials, like Colonel William Rhett, as well as the official retinue and garrison of the governor, army men, and others, who were of his own way of thinking and who actively aided him, but never to the extremes he intended.

Complete identification with the religious establishment as it existed in England, with its taxes, tithes, fees, and unquestioning compliance with all the demands of the Church, was so strongly resisted that the idea could not have been a new growth, but was in the immigrant's chest as a grievance and reason for emigration. He refused to sign the register and resisted many another apparently harmless practice. This suspicion could be based only on a determination not to get on the road of English authoritarianism. The pioneer had escaped from the frame of English society and would not build it again in its entirety.

Johnston adapted himself with some patience to meet the conditions of suspicion and resistance characteristic of an equalitarian temper which, however, he at no stage of his residence fully understood. His letters are to that extent more revealing and significant, because he, as a representative of English caste thinking, shows the

split between the colonial and home worlds more clearly than a man of milder temper might have done. Besides, from his point of view, he was appointed to win rather than to give in, and his indomitable spirit gave way neither to disease, debts, nor the domestic problems of a large family.

Sick or well, he intervened in provincial politics. He solicited the aid of the governor and the "topping families," and tried to convert the Dissenters, including the French Huguenots. He soon found that a policy of gradualism promised most success. To avoid charges of "Popery," he explained carefully in various homes the usages and practices of the Church, particularly in regard to the canons and the rubrics. He found himself, then, in the position of general manager of the Anglican Church in South Carolina, with his subordinates spread over a wide territory and reluctant to follow the advice of a newcomer or to risk the alienation of their own flocks. The parishioners were, in turn, suspicious of any formal change.

Johnston's comments on the poverty of the country are frequent. Poverty in all agricultural frontier communities is universal. The first generation meets scarcity. The nature of the new environment makes all men debtors, for there is an overexpansion of the acquisition of land, on the part of the man with capital.⁷ The poor man has neither goods nor land. All suffer from the hazards of experimental crops, distant markets, restless or unskilled labor, and from shortage of manufactured goods.

On Johnston's arrival, the Colony was in this debtor status, still using capital from home, and had not yet adapted its economic regime to the staples of rice and indigo.⁸ The scarcity of consumers' goods meant the high prices which are noted in every letter. Paper money inflation might be either an accidental or deliberate attempt to reduce the real cost of imports. Almost every letter has a com-

⁷ For an account of the land poverty which large holdings sometimes produced, see Richard Croom Beatty and William J. Mulloy, eds., *William Byrd's Natural History of Virginia* (Richmond, 1940), pp. xix, xxiv. The Byrd estate, a tract of 180,000 acres was, by 1736, a financial drain and led William Byrd to attempt various colonization schemes which he outlined.

⁸ The future importance of rice and indigo is indicated in Frank J. Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina* (Washington, D. C., 1941), esp. pp. 48-49, 90-91. Rice was first planted in South Carolina about 1700, and by mid-century had become the chief export of the Colony. Indigo began to reach the rank of staple about 1744.

parison between colonial currency and sterling. Johnston's letter of September 20, 1708, gave £150 of colonial currency as equivalent to £100 sterling. Subsequently, on January 27, 1711, he wrote that £100 Carolina money was equal to £50 sterling. This comparison shows the depreciation of the colonial money. Debts were exceedingly burdensome and the Commissary was weighed down by his own, as indeed were the individual colonist and the colony. The opportunity and hope of a "new start" victimized the settler into the dizzy state of the runner in the Russian folk story. Promised all the land he could encircle between sunrise and sunset, he ran wildly, but failed to complete his circuit.

The cost of defense and intercolonial exchanges of military aid are clearly set forth in the letter of November 16, 1711. A total of £7,000 is voted for an expedition of 1,200 men to defeat the Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina. This addition to the debt brought the total for the Colony to £23,000, which the Commissary regarded as a serious burden on the people. The Indian rebellion coincided with the disastrous sickness of that year. Colonial self-government and colonial coöperation grew out of the military and economic necessities, rather than out of political theory.

Johnston's own suffering makes his letters a clinical report on the menaces of health to a Briton. His home environment, being one of the friendliest to man, had no such extremes of moist heat, or the dangers of malaria, dysentery, and other semitropical diseases. His descriptions of his own illness, which seems to have been malaria, and of the sickness and death of others, explain his demand for a curate to help when he is too ill for his duties, and to allow him to go home for a cure which "Brittish air and diet" and "Brittish physicians" would provide. The problems of health, as revealed in his letters, show that there is a wholly new chapter in American medical history yet to be written. The mortality of the frontier was high. America was built by men and women half-sick, and the minister was a physician of the body as well as of the soul. A ship's captain brought Johnston British liquors and drugs "which to me is the most acceptable present under my present circumstances . . . [the water] is so Brackish, that it is scarcely potable unless mixed with other Liquors" (see below, p. 62).

Bad as sanitation and health were in eighteenth-century England, in South Carolina they were obviously much worse. Colonial

medicine was in its infancy.⁹ Disease was no respecter of persons; contagion reached slave and master alike, and decimated the Indian. Frequently smallpox struck the Indian and halted his depredations. Disease took ship and traveled the trade routes of the empire.¹⁰

Johnston's complaints about the horrors of visiting the sick and dying show that nursing and sanitation, in a modern sense, were unknown. It is difficult to realize that quinine or Peruvian bark was unknown in the eighteenth century.¹¹ Plagues, diseases, and death in colonial South Carolina were "Acts of God," and viewed as beyond the control of man. No safeguards of quarantine or segregation were understood. People moved from sea to mountains, to New England, back to Old England, recognizing only that climatic conditions had a bearing on their suffering and recovery.¹²

The letter of November 16, 1711, gives most exact information about the "plague" made up of smallpox, various fevers, pleurisy, and dysentery. Not one house in twenty escaped the ravages of disease. Public business came to a standstill, and the churches were all but emptied. The community consolidated its forces as might a garrison during an extreme siege. Religious strife was postponed, and all citizens were busy, nursing, burying the dead, or in seclu-

⁹ A day-by-day story of plantation life which illustrates the prevalence of sickness and plague can be found in Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712* (Richmond, 1941). Concerned over the illness and death of his slaves, Byrd wrote, p. 278, "These poor people suffer for my sins; God forgive me for all my offenses and restore them to their health."

¹⁰ The port of Liverpool was one of the first to take steps to treat and quarantine the diseases which were part of the cargo from strange lands. The first infirmary was founded there in 1744 on lands and funds contributed by the Corporation of the city. In 1770 came the foundation of the Medical Library which, in 1838, was merged with the famous Medical Institution. In 1847 the Corporation appointed the first Medical Officer of Health in England. Through the farsightedness and generosity of Sir Alfred Jones, the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine was founded in 1898. See Thomas H. Bickerton, *A Medical History of Liverpool from the Earliest Days to 1920* (London, 1935), *passim*.

¹¹ Quinine was introduced into medical practice as late as 1820. In 1810, Gomez, of Lisbon, discovered some of its properties, trees were transplanted to India and the East Indies, and, after much experimentation, therapeutic use of the drug was attained.

¹² Medicine in Charleston is well discussed in F. P. Bowes, *The Culture of Early Charleston* (Chapel Hill, 1942), pp. 75-82. The doctors were usually graduates of Edinburgh or Leyden, another illustration of colonial dependence on Europe.

sion. Johnston met this disaster, worse even than the previous "great sickness," with courage and fearlessness. He prayed and preached and went about among the people as did the Jesuits who, in the West Indies and in scenes of disaster the world over, mingled with human succor a complete confidence in Providence. Occasionally the Commissary's report falls into the rhythm and content of a sermon that he probably preached to the distressed people.

The New World was as attractive to assorted scoundrels and adventurers as to the heroic pioneer. The British government itself sent convicts¹³ and rebels against civil authority from all four kingdoms to the colonies throughout the eighteenth century in such volume that, when cut off by the American Revolution, the supply founded Australia. Throughout the discussions of penal administration was the conviction that a new start in a new environment would, in itself, rehabilitate many an individual—a supposition often borne out by the event. It was not, however, necessary to be sent at government expense, for persons in financial and other difficulties frequently found the New World responsive to tales of distress.

Commissary Johnston gives an excellent account of some of these adventurers and proves himself to be an early social genealogist. It is interesting to note that an English estate, in these early days, was an easy "prop" for borrowing money in the New World, and a good story could be used first in one colony and then in another. A share in a genuine estate was, in fact, difficult to realize, and Johnston's letters about his own inheritance show clearly that English heirs in America and other parts of the world must have lost millions of pounds through the centuries. Many of the Downing Street buildings today represent unclaimed funds reverting to the crown. Men went to sea and were never heard of again.

The legend of descent from important personages has its true foundation, too. The Puritans and Cavaliers, the regicides, Goffe, Whalley, and Dixwell in New England, did come to the colonies. The Commissary found the regicide's widow, Mrs. Axtell, and her daughter, unpleasant refugees in his parish. Daniel Axtell, in charge of the Cromwellian troops on the day of the King's execu-

¹³ A good account of crime and punishment at this time when America was looked upon as "a convenient place to transport criminals," is given in Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis, *Three Tours Through London in the Years 1748, 1776, 1797* (New Haven, 1941).

tion, was hanged in 1660.¹⁴ Forty-eight years later Axtell's widow and daughter were alive in South Carolina.

In Commissary Johnston's papers are recorded parish rolls of great value. The exact names for births, christenings, marriages, and burials make an early census, necessarily omitted from this study. The documents also yield information on social conditions of the population, race relationship, Indian contact, the visits of strangers, and illuminative incidents such as the death and burial of an unknown sailor. The struggling community would not have paused in its breathless conflict with environment and hardship to record its own history in full detail, but the S.P.G., by its rules, saved these early heroic characters from oblivion. The Commissary's papers add a contemporary interpretation of events. It is important to know how affairs looked to the people then, and to so wise a commentator as Johnston.

The character of the Commissary, intriguing throughout, is gradually etched in during the course of his letters. Initially the reader feels that Johnston is a superior man, but reserves judgment on the subject of his complaints, his meticulous turn of mind, and his determination to dominate the events that are of interest to him. Gradually he conquers the reader, who is glad to see him have his way, rejoices that he is to have the curate to assist him, that he receives recognition as a missionary with a salary from the Society, a grant of money for the education of his son, and other reliefs to "ease" him. The hardihood for disciplining others came from his own iron will and mastery of himself, which forced him to work while ill in bed, when at times practically blind, or so shaken by ague that he had to hold one hand with the other.

When one illness leaves him, some other "gout," or "rheumatism" seizes him, but he works on "resolved never to stirr till I leave one upon the Spott to Supply my Place" (see below, p. 107). He extracts what cheerfulness he can from his situation. "The Great Mortality here is lately abated none having died this Fortnight so that I could not have fallen sick in a more Lucky Season for my

¹⁴ Of an estimated 84 regicides, 24 had died at the time of the Restoration. Of the 29 condemned to death in the trial of October, 1660, 19 escaped, and only 10 were executed. Daniel Axtell was one of the 10. For an account of his trial, see T. B. and T. J. Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials* (London, 1809-1828), Vol. V, pp. 1146-1175. "Some Particulars of the Behaviour and of the Execution of Colonel Daniel Axtell, and Col. Francis Hacker the 19th day of October, 1660, at Tyburn," appears in *ibid.*, pp. 1286-1296.

Parishioners" (see below, p. 107). A man who is able to say, "in regard my present Sickness seems not to be unto Death. I hope . . . to be able to give you a more Exact and Pteular acct of things" (see below, p. 107), may be allowed to report also that others were afraid of the epidemic. The devoted attention given him by his French Huguenot physician, by the captains of British ships, and by other friends testifies to his good points. The frankness of his letters indicates an inner self-respect. Johnston made converts on the deathbeds of victims, and thus won Dissenters and the admiration of his own clergy, who afterwards were willing to let him go to England to recuperate, and by turns took over his work.

The details of Johnston's career in South Carolina are so clearly set forth in the letters that he himself takes the reader through the various controversies in which he is engaged. His plan is simply to establish the Anglican Church as the official church of South Carolina, with all its rights and privileges and economic security, as enjoyed in England. The interest of the reader centers on his successes and failures in this major enterprise.

For the Anglicization of religion in the Colony Johnston had a number of powerful weapons. The missionaries and settlers were still supported largely by British capital, British markets, British shipping, and British military and naval forces. He could count on the exile's longing for home and British ways, which existed whatever his outer mood might be. The prestige of the old society, and all of its command of the amenities of learning, of historic memories, weighed in the scales in favor of the Commissary. The colonist wished to build his own culture, but he was still too weak in numbers, and the poverty of the country was still too great for him to cut himself off from his moorings.

Johnston, unfortunately from his standpoint, was the temporary victim of circumstances that made it impossible for him to take full advantage of all the favorable conditions. He was ill, in debt, overwhelmed by domestic and other privations to which he was not accustomed. These misfortunes were likely to identify him as a hapless immigrant inclined to put on airs. His specific suggestions were exactly to the point. A curate would give him status and free time for necessary travel and observation of all the parishes. His intelligent proposals that a missionary be allowed £25 on arrival, and that he be personally allowed £100 from the queen, like com-

missaries elsewhere, and that a form of retirement be provided by a plan to give the superannuated livings at home, would have dignified the missionary and even have prevented difficulties that made him ridiculous. This more satisfactory policy would then tap a better supply of men.

The resistance of the colonists, Anglican and Dissenter, to Johnston's plans permits the reader to see the birth of the American social order which, in the end, was not to be a full-fledged Anglican domination with all Dissenters crushed, nor even an Anglican ascendancy with uncertain religious toleration for Dissenters, but religious equalitarianism or parity of religious bodies, with freedom of choice for the individual. The Anglican was to retain his prestige, even as the more democratic churches outgrew him in numbers. A vital fact is that through the S.P.G. clergy and the Anglican Church many colonials were made heir to the culture of Great Britain.

The Roman Catholic in the colonies suffered from the double handicap of hereditary hostility developed in England during the two preceding centuries and, in addition, from a degree of political hostility when England was at war with the Roman Catholic powers, Spain and France. French attempts at securing religious uniformity caused the death or flight of thousands of French Huguenots. These colonists, therefore, steadily fed the stream of hostility against Catholics. Johnston, however, was not concerned particularly with the Roman Catholic problem, but rather with the Presbyterians and other Dissenters.

It is significant that in this early part of the eighteenth century the American frontier had taken form much as described later by Frederick Jackson Turner and his school. This social framework moved bodily westward, over the mountains, across the Mississippi Valley, and was reproduced in time in Australia, New Zealand, and other new societies. Modified in California by the Spanish and the Gold Rush, and in Canada by the French regime and the slower settlement of the West and more conservative land policies, the frontier pattern was constant in some major features.

South Carolina was part of the rim of the British Empire, from the hub of which ran numerous spokes, reaching the edge of the Baltic countries, Russia, Turkey, and the Mediterranean, India, Africa, and the Latin-American world in Spanish and Portuguese

areas. The Peace of Utrecht in 1713 had not yet been signed when Johnston wrote these early letters, but the outlines of the British victory were clearly visible in the attainment of an increased world-wide commercial monopoly, with strategic places like Gibraltar and slave stations on the coast of Africa. An annual trading ship was sent to Panama and the Spanish shortly complained that it was not a cargo vessel but a floating wharf for the goods of the Spanish world.

The S.P.G. missionaries in South Carolina were uneasy about the western boundary line that would be drawn at the coming peace, and insisted to the men in London that the French be driven out of North America on religious and imperialistic grounds. This view anticipated by a full half-century, the event of the Peace of Paris in 1763, when France was eliminated by giving the region west of the Mississippi to Spain, with the exception of the Isle of Orleans, and the rest of this French continental domain to England.

At the time of Johnston's activity this bold temper was already in evidence, and the undercurrent was "seize now what will have to be taken later." The new country had a robust appetite for land, an appetite which consistently resisted all regimentation of land policy. The home government for centuries attempted to set up land distribution schemes to prevent the too-rapid and too-sparse settlement of large vacant areas. The pioneer defied restrictions of high prices, lack of surveys, protective policies for the natives, and made his clearing far afield. Johnston observed this restlessness, described it in terms of condemnation, but the people not only "scattered," but, whether in proprietary colonies like Pennsylvania and South Carolina, or in a royal colony like Virginia, adopted a squatter's philosophy that the land belonged to God and consequently to the man who used it. The English village community had the contentment of relatively slow change and of an orderly, set society. Through Commissary Johnston's eyes we see a colony in creation, the birth of a new society, and the working of the American spirit.

The political counterpart of the Commissary's Church struggle has been revealed by the late Professor Charles M. Andrews in his monumental study of the colonial period.¹⁵ The English ruling

¹⁵ Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, 1937), III, pp. 182-267.

caste at home, in the time of Charles II, had had a long experience in building up a land monopoly not only in England, but in Ireland as well. It was, therefore, natural for the landed aristocracy to think of the New World in terms of the extension of their English and Irish domains, and to send across the Atlantic as much of the feudal system as possible. Feudal names, like landgrave and palatine, reached America but lost their substance. The student of American institutions discovers how often only the name crossed the Atlantic for the institution could not be moved and did not take root in the new society. An aggressive modifying force existed in Britain itself, namely the joint stock company, which was replacing older organizations as the chief mechanism of business and commerce. The same individual was often interested in business as well as in land. The various charters devised in England for the government of the Carolinas clearly show the weight of the business interests of the City of London.

In the long event of actual history the lands of the New World went to the settler, whether with large or small holdings. In South Carolina many large estates were granted or acquired. The capitalistic plantation economy necessary for the production of rice and indigo quickly shaped a landed aristocracy based on slave labor. The big planters and the Charleston merchants, however wealthy they might be, did not reproduce the titles, preferments, and feudal or caste regime of the old country. There was no House of Lords, no Privy Council, no Knights of the Garter. So, too, in this upper realm of society, the differences from the mother country were marked.

The proprietary system, under which South Carolina was established about 1670, was cleared away in 1719 by the revolt of the Carolinians against the proprietors. In 1729 the Colony became a royal province. The amount of confusion and controversy involved in this long transition is almost beyond belief. The letters of Johnston must be read with the facts of this chaotic period in mind. He described the governmental structure in which he was trying to set up one English institution, namely the Anglican Church. He happened to be in the Colony when confusion was great, but also at the moment when maximum results for the Church could be and were obtained. Although it is true that he did not obtain legislation with greater recognition of his Church than that provided in the

Act of 1706 before his arrival, he so built up the Establishment within the terms of this act that Anglicanism remained unshaken even by the visits of George Whitefield. Johnston secured, not the English Establishment, but an Americanized version, with appointments and affairs of management largely in the hands of lay commissioners, the parish congregations as a whole, and of the vestry of the parish. In brief, it was local self-government not so far removed from the Presbyterian model.

Without the S.P.G. and without the Commissary present to turn the balance at the critical time, the Dissenter would have won. Even at the time of his death, the estimated proportions were : 40 per cent Anglican, 40 per cent Dissenter, 20 per cent French Huguenot.¹⁶ The Commissary understood his aims perfectly. If he had likewise understood the power of the American spirit, even his determination might have quailed.

¹⁶ Andrews, *ibid.*, III, pp. 241-245. Andrews states that the French Huguenots were about 10 per cent of the population. See also Bowes, *The Culture of Early Charleston*, chap. ii, "Churchmen and Dissenters," pp. 13-33.

I

The setting up of the Churches in America is a part of our history that has not been told so fully as that of the establishment of civil governments, nor even that of the various phases of our educational systems. In this first letter to his friend, Bishop Gilbert Burnet, Johnston states some of the problems encountered in this strange, new world, and the steps he has taken to meet them. The reader's attention is won by his determination to carry out the ecclesiastical program against all opposition.

The temper of this "most factious and Seditious people" is further revealed in letters received by the S.P.G. from other missionaries, from the Governor and Council of South Carolina, and from leading men of the Colony. On September 13, 1707, Chief Justice Nicholas Trott had appealed to the Society "with all Expedition to send us some Ministers." Unless good men were speedily sent, he wrote, "we shall lose the good effect of that Act that we have passed for the Establishing the Church of England in this province and in which we have settled a Thousand pounds p. Ann. for the Maintenance of our Ministers and concerning which we have met with so much Opposition and hatred from the dissenters Faction." As for the political mood of the Colony, Trott continued :

... some Seditious Designing Persons who called themselves of the Church of England but were really of no Religion; for their own Interest and to keep some places of Profit and get others made it their Business to divide the Interest of the Church of England and so strike in with the Dissenters Faction by means of which we lost that Election and the Dissenters are now in the Assembly and it is in vain to propose to them an Act for the Propagation of the Gospel which would be received by them with Scorne and Contempt, for they never were in the Assembly but they always opposed every thing that was good... And that was the reason why we passed the Act to exclude them from being chosen of the Assembly... But that Act being now repealed in Obedience to the Orders we received from her Majty and they having... procured themselves to be chosen of the Assembly We must wait with patience for another Opportunity when we hope we shall be able to outvote them & get a Church of England Assembly...¹

¹ Chief Justice Nicholas Trott to the Society, September 13, 1707, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 3, CLII, p. 303. Trott refers to the Church Act of 1704, which excluded Dissenters from the Assembly, and the later act of 1706, which readmitted them. A letter from the Governor and Council to the Society in September, 1707, relates an incident which further marks this independent spirit. Calling at the home of Joseph Boone, to collect an assessment for St. Philip's, the collectors found with Mrs. Boone, "Landgrave Smith and his

Five months later, at about the time Johnston arrived in the Colony, the Governor and Council reported to the Society that "The Faction is already Arrived at that Heighth of Insolence" which nothing could satisfy "for they want to Govern & not to be Govern'd."²

The Commissary's letter reveals that he is utterly unprepared for this "factious and seditious" people. His difficulties are immediate. He recovers from shipwreck only to encounter the obstacles created for him by Marsden and Marston. Archdale, the Quaker, and the Dissenters generally he describes in unforgettable terms. Scarcity and paper inflation bring the pinch of actual poverty. Johnston is dependent upon the gifts of the more kindly parishioners and in this first letter he has to appeal for funds. An Anglo-Irishman, he has property at home. The division of the estate may be made without a share for him unless he can return, but he is unwilling to leave his post at a critical time, and therefore appeals to Bishop Burnet to intervene.

At this time the line of authority between the colonial government and the British authorities in London was not yet clearly drawn. The powers of the crown, the ministers, Parliament, and the Anglican Church were in a state of flux in England. The fact that South Carolina was a proprietary colony contributed to confusion in administration at home, and to the conflicts of the authorities in Charleston. The venture was not a business success. Consequently, proprietary neglect became chronic. The relations of the Anglican Church to the Assembly and to the Dissenters were as yet unsettled. The colonial clergy lived in this split world, with one foot in the colonies and one in the homeland from which

Brother George Smith two of the Ringleaders of the Faction of the Dissenters. . . . Landgrave Smith asked them how they durst have the impudence to demand money . . . his Bror Mr George Smith was pleased very Civilly to add, that if this was not Persecution he desired to know what was and that they had as good rob him as to demand the money of him and . . . Mrs Boon asked if Coll Rhett and Mr Trott the Chief Justice had paid their parts? They told her, yes, they paid at the first for a good Example to others she was pleased very civilly to reply that it was a great pitty that Mr. Trott had not been hanged seven years past and then they had had none of these things put upon them for that he had made all this disturbance." See: The Governour and Council of South Carolina to the Society, September 19, 1707, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 3, CLIII, pp. 311-313.

² South Carolina Council to the Society, February 13, 1707/8, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 4, XLV, pp. 117-118.

their superiors directed their activities. If naturalization was their desire, the process was in doubt. Was this power in the hands of the queen, of Parliament, or of the colonial authorities?

Johnston's first letter conveys the sharp impression that the people in general are creating their own world. As far as possible they have left the Old World behind them. They are absorbed in their crafts, in building their homes and businesses, and are not longing for the "meanest post" at home. They are free to choose any religion and are demanding all civil rights. The report breathes the spirit of equalitarianism in the New World. The opening words of the Commissary's first letter are memorable and cruelly humorous.

Mr Johnston to Ld Bp of Sarum

Charles Town

My Lord.

Sept 20th 1708

I never repented so much of any thing, my Sins only excepted, as my coming to this Place, nor has ever Man been treated with less humanity and Compassion, considering how much I had suffered in my Passage, than I have been since my Arrival in it.

I will not now trouble your Lop [Lordship] with a Detail of my Misfortunes, nor enter into a particular Account of the ill usage I have met with hitherto and still continue to receive. It shall suffice for the present to acquaint your Lop that what between Mr Marston³ on one hand, and Mr Marsden⁴ on t'other, I have a miserable time of it, and am hitherto Minister of no Parish in this Province.

The greatest part of my Trouble proceeds from Mr Marsden, formerly a Missionary in Maryland; who hearing of Mr Marston's being deprived and turn'd out,⁵ came straitway hither and in six

³ The Rev. Edward Marston, M.A. served at St. Philip's, Charleston, from 1700 to 1705. Although a Jacobite, Marston's services were secured by the proprietors, and he was recommended by the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was not connected with the S.P.G.

⁴ Richard Marsden served at St. Philip's from 1705 to 1707. He is described by Bishop Perry as "a fugitive clergyman . . . insinuating in manner," who "ingratiated himself with a party in the church and secured by misrepresentations an election to St. Philip's." Johnston's arrival revealed "the deception practised by the intruder." William Stevens Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883* (Boston, 1885), I, pp. 377-378.

⁵ Marston, who was involved in frequent controversies with the South Carolina legislature, was finally arraigned before the Board of Lay Commissioners

or seven Weeks time got himself to be chosen Minister of this Town; tho' at the same time the Govr [Sir Nathaniel Johnson] and the Chief Justice [Nicholas Trott] and several of the best sort of Parishioners remonstrated against this rash procedure; in regard they had with their Consent, (testified by many of the Subscriptions to those Letters) written to his Lop the Bp of London and the Venerable Society for a good and prudent Minister; and that it was very proper and decent to stay for Answers to the said Letters: But this had no Effect upon the headstrong and Giddy populace, and choose they wou'd and did Mr Marsden, tho' he was perfectly a stranger to them, and came without any manner of Recommendation. What made this Man forsake his Cure in Maryland, without his Bishops leave, and thrust himself into another Parish so Contrary to the Cannons and discipline of the Church of England, is what is not well known to this day; It is said he was forced to fly, for some ill thing he did in Maryland, but however this be, it is nevertheless certain, that he came hither with a lye in his Mouth, and said that the Bp of London's commands were so urgent for his coming to this Place, that he cou'd not allow himself time to settle or make a disposition of his Affaires and Effects in Maryland, and that he was forced to leave his wife and ffamily behind him.

By this means and by his insinuating himself into the favour of a party, which has Created a vast deal of Trouble and mischief to the Church and State, he procured himself to be elected; and in this posture I found him, after a Year's Service in this Town, when I came hither.^a

in 1705 and deprived of his living. Bishop Perry suggested that the failure of the legislature "to rid themselves of this obnoxious person" was largely responsible for the act of the Establishment of Religious Worship according to the Church of England, of November 4, 1704." This act contained a clause appointing a board of laymen "to try and to remove, if they saw fit, any minister against whom complaint should be made by a major part of the Vestry, together with any nine aggrieved parishioners. It was by this commission that Mr. Marston was removed." Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 376. The S.P.G. protested this clause, and determined to send no more missionaries to Carolina until it should be repealed. Repeal was accomplished by the Church Act of November 30, 1706. Dalcho, *Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, p. 69.

^a On December 17, 1708, the Society's minutes record the receipt of a certificate from the Governor and Council, the clergy, the chief inhabitants of St. Philip's, and from Mr. Marsden himself, notifying them of Mr. Marsden's "voluntary Resignation of the said Church to Mr Gideon Johnston . . . and of

It happened that I was put ashore at a great distance from this Town upon a Sandy Island,⁷ with a Merchant and a Sailour, were [*sic*] we Continued 12. days and as many Nights, without any manner of Meat and Drink, or Shelter from the Scorching heat of the Sun. Miserable and almost incredible was the shift we made to subsist in that unhappy place for so long a time; and the Saylor being unable to bear the want of Shelter and Provision any longer did on the third day after our being Landed swim over to another Marshy Island in hopes to make his way to the Continent, but he Perished in the attempt. At last it pleased God to relieve us for upon the arrival of the Ship (in which we were) at this Town and that upon our being missed, it was presently Suspected what became of us, Sloops and Boats, Perigoes and Canoos were dispatch'd to all such places as it was thought we might be in; and on the twelfth day in the Evening a Canoo got to us when we were at the last Gasp and just upon the point of Expiring, and Next Morning we were Conveyed to the opposite Port of the Continent where I lay a Fortnight before I cou'd recover Strength enough to reach the Town. And during this time Mr Marsden and his party were at work as hard as they could to oppose and defeat my being received as Minister of that place. The good Govr Sr Nathaniel Johnson has done all that was possible on this Occasion, and Mr Marsden has been prevailed upon to resign, but still he and his friends act underhand, and they do not stick to say publicly What has the Bp or London or the Society to do with us? We will have our own Minister and no other, so that it is very uncertain whether they will elect me or not, tho' there is a very great probability of it, for they begin to drop, and forsake Mr Marsden's Interest; the Election is to come on next Monday come 7 night; and then I shall know my Doom.

his present hard Circumstances and desiring the Favour of the Society. In consideration of his "great Submission & Willingness to resign his said living and of his great Care in transporting his Family, &c," the S.P.G. allowed him £50 for one year. *Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.)*, I, December 17, 1708, No. 6, p. 143. For Marsden's letter of August 23, 1708, containing his explanation of the affair, see Richard Marsden to the Society, August 23, 1708, in *S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.)*, A 4, LV, pp. 143-144.

⁷ Edward McCrady suggested that this was probably Morris Island. "Had it been Sullivan's Island, the name would probably have been given, as it was then well established." See Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719* (New York, 1897), p. 473n.

From this Account I have given your Lop you may easily imagine that I cannot be over fond of staying in such a place and amongst such a strange sort of people; & especially were [*sic*] the Salary is so small; the Ministers Stipend here, is 150£ Carolina money,⁸ which makes but 100£ English but then all things are so extravagantly dear that 100£ in London will go as far at least as 300£ here and very often as far as 4 or 500£ Judge then My Lord, how impossible it is for a Minister who has eleven in Family to live otherwise than very miserable upon this Salary and how extremely well pleased I shou'd be to return to the meanest thing in South Brittain, for I shou'd be ashamed to return to Ireland.

The meanest Post or Curacy in your Lops Diocese is what I shou'd bless God & thank your Lop a thousand times for, & might the earnest desire I have of serving under your Lop be an Inducement to you to employ me; Surely there is no Bishop in the World in whose Diocese I wou'd more willingly fix myself than in yours for how happy shou'd I be under the tuition and Conduct of the Great Bp of Salisbury.⁹

The People here, generally speaking, are the Vilest race of Men upon the Earth they have neither honour, nor honesty nor Religion enough to entitle them to any tolerable Character, being a perfect Medley or Hotch potch made up of Bank[r]upts, pirates, decayed Libertines, Sectaries and Enthusiasts of all sorts who have transported themselves hither from Bermudas, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Montserat, Antego, Nevio, New England, Pensylvania &c; and are the most factious and Seditious people in the whole World. Many of those that pretend to be Churchmen are strangely cripled in their goings between the Church and Presbytery, and as they are of large and loose principles so they live and Act accordingly, sometimes going openly with the Dissenters as they now do against the Church and giving incredible trouble to the Govr and clergy this

⁸ A letter from the Governor and Council to Henry Compton, Lord Bishop of London, dated January 17, 1699/70, had described the perquisites of St. Philip's "settled by Act of Parliament" as "£150 yearly out of the Public Treasury; a good brick house and plantation; two negro slaves, and a stock of cattle, besides a considerable benefit which, by the encouragement of the government, will accrue, by Christenings, Marriages and Burials." Quoted from Daleho, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁹ Although he addressed the letter to the Bishop of "Sarum," Johnston here uses the full term "Salisbury," a practice of interusage which appears throughout the S.P.G. manuscripts. The contraction "Sarum" was evolved from a misunderstanding of the abbreviation Sar; for Sarisbriera [Salisbury].

way; besides the unavoidable mischiefs they do in disturbing the Publick Peace and tranquility and all this for some poor trifling Post in the Civil List or else upon the account of some unreasonable Pique or Resentment they have taken up against some of the true Churchmen who are employed in the highest Stations in this Province.

But to pass by these sort of Churchmen and to speak a little of the Dissenters I must Observe to your Lop that they are the most unreasonable in all the British Monarchy, they have Liberty & property to the full and enjoy the free and undisturbed Exercise of their Religion in all respects.¹⁰—they are capable of all posts in the Civil and Military Lists and have now actually a Majority both in Council, Parliament or assembly, and yet they are never to be satisfied till they can compass the downfall of this Infant Church. With this View it is that they wou'd have their Ministers provided for in all respects equally with us Whereas we are not half well enough provided for nor cou'd we be able to live were it not for the Presents that some of the better sort of Churchmen make us for all things are extravagantly dear in these Places, nor indeed is the Country well able to Pay those Salary's that are allowed us being extreemly poor and sunk in Debt, and having no other Money Current in it but Paper Money for the most part.

Nor will the Dissenters for the same reason consent to have the parishes divided by an Act of Assembly;¹¹ they together with those

¹⁰ On November 4, 1704, the Colonial Assembly passed a Church Act for the erection of churches, the maintenance of Church of England ministers, and parishes, which also specified that only communicants of that Church could serve in the Assembly. This act was vigorously protested by the Dissenters at whose instance Joseph Boone went to London. In 1706 he presented his memorial to the House of Lords and on Die Martii 12, 1706, the Lords protested the measure to Queen Anne who referred the matter to the proprietors. On May 24, 1706, they reported to the Queen that the Colonial Assembly had abused its power in passing the act and had therefore forfeited the Charter. The Act was repealed by the Colonial Assembly of South Carolina on November 30, 1706, and on the same day a new and more liberal Church Act was passed which superseded all former acts. This act was satisfactory to the proprietors, but the Dissenters were still vigilant, and saw Governor Johnson as their chief enemy. See McCrady, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 60–61, 64, 66, 69–70, 75–77.

¹¹ The Church Act of November 30, 1706, which repealed all previous acts, provided for the establishment of ten defined parishes: St. Philip's (Charleston), Christ Church, St. Thomas's, St. John's, St. James's (Goose Creek), St. Andrew's, St. Dennis's, St. Paul's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. James's (Santee). But the bounds of the several parishes were not particularly defined. This was remedied by an act of December 18, 1708. See Dalcho, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

false Brethren I formerly mention'd being the Major party in the Assembly, this they hope will in a little time set the Clergy together by the Ears about Meum & Tuum, about the perquisites and bounds of their Parishes; and then they think they will gain their point, according to that known Maxim, *Divide & impera*.

The same Motives engage them to persecute the Govr and Chief Justice,¹² by preferring false Complaints and malicious accusation against them at the Bord of Proprietors and elsewhere in S. Britain and by insulting them with Mobbs and Riots and Tumults at home; and all this for no other reason but because they endeavour to build this infant Church upon the most secure and lasting foundation, without giving any Manner of disturbance or provocation to the Dissenters at the same time.

This is the true Cause of their Rage and Malice against Sir Nathaniel Johnson and Mr Trott at the Bottom. And because they are unable to prove those Crimes and that Male [*sic*] Administration in the Governmt with which they Asperse and traduce them;¹³ they have recourse to the old Way of going about for hands to

¹² Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the Governor, had won his title by his sword in the service of the Stuarts. An ancestor of Nicholas Trott, Mathew Trott, was register of the Court of the Commissary of Suffolk in the time of Charles I. Trott had previously served as Governor of Providence in the Bahamas until 1697, when he was recalled to London, and appointed Attorney General to South Carolina. He arrived in the Colony in 1698. His commission as Chief Justice arrived in Carolina in 1703, with that of Sir Nathaniel Johnson's as governor. See McCrady, *op. cit.*, pp. 317, 368-369, 390.

¹³ The political tension in South Carolina had not relaxed with the repeal of the offensive Church Acts. Joseph Boone, whose efforts in London on behalf of the Dissenters, had contributed to the repeal of the acts, continued his activities which were especially aimed against Governor Johnson. He presented another petition to the Lords Proprietors charging the Governor with crimes against the civil and religious foundations of the province. A copy of this petition appears in Dalcho, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-85. An extract of the Governor's speech, delivered October 20, 1709, appears in *ibid.*, pp. 80-81, and the communications of the House of Commons to Governor Johnson, and to the Lords Proprietors, are reproduced in *ibid.*, pp. 85-89. Significant of the repercussions of this controversy on both sides of the Atlantic is the fact that Daniel Defoe, a nonconformist, issued a pamphlet in 1705 entitled, *Party-Tyranny, or an Occasional Bill in Miniature; as now Practiced in Carolina. Humbly offered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament*. This pamphlet included with Defoe's attack an "Address of the Inhabitants of the Province," a copy of "that most barbarous and unheard of Law against the Dissenters," and a letter from Lady Blake, widow of the late governor. It is reproduced in Alexander S. Salley, Jr., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York, 1911), pp. 224-264.

Petitions, in which they insinuate the Aversion the People have to the present Governmt and how uneasy they will be, till these Gentlemen are removed. One of the regicides Widdows, Mrs Axtel, and Mrs Blake the true Daughter of such a Mother are remarkably Zealous and diligent this way: And indeed are so extreemly factious and seditious, that no Place can be well at Peace where they are; and it were to be Wished that they cou'd be banished as common Plagues and Nusances out of the Country.

Never was so honest and Just a Governor, so barbarously used by any People, as Sr Nathaniel Johnson is by these; and considering his great Merit and Accomplishments, it is a Pitty he were Govr over such a base and Scoundrel sort of Men. He has often told me nothing but his care and concern for the Church cou'd Oblige him to Undertake this Government, or to Continue in it, and that considering the posts he had formerly served in, and the figure he had made in the World, he wou'd Scorn such a poor and precarious Government as this is, were not the Preservation & Establishmt of the Church a Consideration Superior to all others.

I therefore most humbly beseech your Lp, that you wou'd be pleased to use all the Interest and Credit you have with the Palatine & Bord of Proprietors,¹⁴ to engage them to continue Sr Nathaniel Johnson our Govr whose only fault it is, to be a Church Man. I doubt not but your Lop will meet with a very ready compliance from the palatine and that part of the Bord, that consists of Churchmen they being the major part, and by a Letter wch I have seen from the Bord, I am perswaded they will upon your Lops application be very inclinable to do Sr Nathaniel Johnson Justice

¹⁴ The original charter for Carolina of Charles II, had awarded proprietorship in Carolina to the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton, by a patent dated March 24, 1663. At the time Johnston wrote, the proprietorships were held by William Lord Craven for the Craven share; the Hon. Maurice Ashley, son of the second Earl of Shaftesbury, for the Ashley share; the second Sir John Colleton, for the Colleton share. The share of the Earl of Clarendon, which the proprietors had given to Thomas Amy, he had settled upon Nicholas Trott, Esq., but the other proprietors never recognized Trott's proprietorship, nor admitted him into its profits. That of Lord Berkeley was now owned by the minor son of Landgrave Joseph Blake, and the troublesome share of Sir William Berkeley was, in 1705, sold to John Archdale, the Quaker. In 1695, Archdale had been persuaded by the other proprietors to go to Carolina as governor. A man of tact and ability, he served until 1696 when he returned to England, relinquishing the governorship to Landgrave Joseph Blake, a Dissenter.

on this Occasion. Archdale, the Quaker and some others of that Kidney encouraged by those false and unjust accusations wch they underhand foment, are those that Labour incessantly at the Bord to remove our Governor, and when some urged how hard a thing it was to turn out an honest Gentleman, without his being ever heard to speak for himself Archdale replied, that Sr Nathaniel Johnson was their Servant, and that they were not bound to him always; and that tho' he were never so innocent and just, yet it was free for them to turn away their Servant when they pleased; to which it was justly replied that it was true the Bord might turn him off, but that it was unjust to cast off an old and honest Servt upon the Account of groundless Complaints and Accusations, till they had given him an Opportunity of Vindicating his reputation and innocence before them; and that then indeed, and not till then they might fairly and honestly remove him.

But, my Lord, let his Enemies be asked what they wou'd be at, or wherein are they wronged? Have not they Liberty and Property and the free exercise of their Religion, in all respects as much, as we have? And yet nothing will serve them, till they have the Governor and Chief Justice removed; and others of their stamp and Kidney put in their places. Whatever faults they have Charged them with either in the Government or in the administration of Justice, Mr Trot the Chief Justice, Col. Rhet¹⁵ a most worthy and honest Gentleman, and others will abundantly prove the falsehood and malice of them. And when your Lop shall see these things so clearly made out, I hope this will encourage you to protect the injured and Oppressed against the Slanders & Calumnies and malicious designs of their most inveterate and implacable Enemies.

¹⁵ The Act of May 4, 1704, source of so much contention, is a reminder of the famous Test and Corporations Act, passed by the Cavalier Parliament in England. Lord Granville, who had openly showed his aversion to Dissenters and "occasional conformists" in England, warmly espoused the cause of the High Churchmen in Carolina, and was influential in securing the disputed Church Act of Carolina. He had the coöperation of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Chief Justice Nicholas Trott, and also of Colonel William Rhett. "All parties complained of the arbitrary tone of the Acts," wrote Frederick Dalcho. "Those who dissented from the Church of England justly complained that their exclusion from the rights enjoyed by their fellow subjects, was an infringement on the 18th art. of the Royal Charter granting liberty of conscience to Dissenters. And Churchmen, while they doubted whether a difference in religious opinions justified a difference in political privileges, complained of the appointment of a Lay Commission, for the trial of Ecclesiastical causes." See Dalcho, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

One thing the Dissenters have to say, and that is, the Violence of the Church party expressed in excluding them out of the Assembly and in rendring them uncapable of serving either in the Civil or Military posts; which Act of Assembly was complain'd of in the House of Lords in South Britain, [England and Wales] and was voted unjust arbitrary and Illegal; and it was soon after repealed on the account of this Vote of the Assembly here. It is true the Church party went too great a length upon this Occasion: But then it must also be considered that they were provoked and exasperated by the Dissenters who first of all began this Trade and indeavour'd to exclude them from the Legislature; and it was then no great Wonder, that the Church party shou'd be carried away too far in this Contest, it being generally the unhappy temper of Mankind to return Injuries, instead of being content to Guard and defend themselves against them or to bear them Patiently. But this contest and Struggle is now over; and I do not really know any Church Man that envies them the Advantages they enjoy, were they but modest and peaceable, and satisfyed with reasonable things.

My Lord, the debates and Contests, that are on foot here, are not between High and Low Churchmen; but between the dissenters and the Church; This must to a great degree appear plain to your Lop from what I have said. And tho' one or two half faced Churchmen, who in reality are Dissenters, and who sometimes come to Church that they may be able to do us more mischief, have joined them; It is nevertheless Mammon, or the hopes of getting themselves into some of those puny places of Profit that are to be had in this Country, by the help of the Dissenters, as I have already hinted, and nothing else, that induces them to go over to them. But there is nothing of Religion, nothing of Persecution or any other hardship on the Score of Conscience, that the dissenters can in the least Complain of; nor have they any reason to complain or make the least noise, unless the Establishment of the Church be an Eye sore to them. This I am verily perswaded in my Conscience, is the thing that Galls and troubles them, tho' they dare not speak it out but by a thousand unreasonable things they say and do here, with which Our Chief Justice will perhaps acquaint your Lop, it may be easily guessed what they wou'd be at.

It will not a little contribute to your Lops believing what I say when I tell you that there is not, generally speaking a better set of

Clergymen in all America than what is to be met with in this place. Men of piety and Learning, of great Humility and Modesty, and of such Moderation, that the most malicious of the Dissenters have not wherewithall to Sully or tarnish their Characters, or to reproach them in the least with high flown Principles or Practices. Wee all keep a fair Correspondence with their Ministers, and Shun all possible Occasions of giving them the least Offense.

We are often importuned by some, who are not full Conformists, to baptise their Children without Godfathers and God Mothers and the Sign of the Cross: In which, as they say, some of the former Ministers did not stick to comply with them, but we tell them we cannot do these things, unless it be in cases of absolute necessity; but those Ministers they mention might have Instructions for making such Condescensions; but that we have none, that we are under tyes and Vows to act according to the Cannons and Rubrick, thro' which we dare not break with a safe Conscience, without at least the express Allowance and direction of our Superiors; and indeed all things considered it is a Question, whether they have such a dispensing power lodged in them.

I must confess I find myself particularly Pinched this way; and shall be in a great Streight how to behave myself, till I am better informed. I wrote to my Diocesan on this Subject; but it wou'd be an inexpressible Satisfaction to me to hav yr Lops Judgment and Opinion in this matter; being fully perswaded that your Lordship will say, all that can be said on this Argument; which is whether any of the Ceremony's of Our Church may be dispensed with, in order to preserve and retain those that are in Communion with us already, tho' not such full Conformists, as may be Wished for; and to gain those that do separate from us on the Account of some Ceremonies, and are actually Joyned and linked with the Dissenters.

The Clergy here wou'd be glad to be Naturalized,¹⁶ which is a favour they think, might be easily indulged them on the Score of their Mission and what they have done and suffered, and still continue to do on the Account of propagating the Christian Religion in Foreign Parts. We are very sure, if your Lop once moved it, that

¹⁶ Under English practice, naturalization came only through special acts of Parliament, but the colonial assemblies, subject to frequent interference from Parliament, exercised a limited right to admit to citizenship certain individuals and classes of persons.

it wou'd meet with no Obstruction; And wee hope your Lop will not be wanting in your endeavours to procure us this favour.

Many of us also, and I in particular are concerned in Private Acts in Ireland,—particularly one Relating to the Sale of Col John Brown's Estate for payment of his Creditors. This act is to expire and determine the first day of May next. And in regard, that the State of Religion is very unsettled in this Province, and that we cannot leave it, without great detriment to the Church, soon enough; so as to be able to reap the benefit of this Act; we are humbly of Opinion, that your *Lop*, as a general favour to the Missionaries here and as an Encouragement to them to labour heartily in the Cause of God and Religion, may by a Motion in all Probability procure them such a favour as this; nor can your Lop want Arguments to press for an Act of Indulgence of this kind; the Thing that we wou'd be at is to have an Act passed in our favour, by which Act for payment of Coll Brown's Creditors, may be prolong'd and continued for one Year and a half from the first day of May next, which shall be in the year 1709. This can be no manner of Injury to Col Brown because it obliges him to nothing but the payment of his debts, a thing in itself most reasonable and if either he or any one for him oppose this; 'tis plain they do not mean honestly at the bottom. Col Johnson will bring you the Act, and by that Your Lop will see what is proper to be done in it. I shall be a great loser in particular, shou'd not this point be gained; because my Reverend Brethren and the Governour are all of Opinion, that my staying in this Country for some time, will be to a great degree necessary towards the settlement of the Church and the Composing and Allaying those heats and intestine divisions with which this unhappy Province is harrassed & distressed and therefore I am resolved to stay whatever the Consequence or the loss be. Tho' I have a considerable debt due to me in that Act, I must nevertheless infallibly lose it unless your Lop, by the method I propose, will secure it for me; for since my arrival here, I understand that Col Brown intends to take advantage of my Absence and to dispute my Debt; and the time is so short and there is so great a necessity for my staying here, that I must unavoidably lose all the Benefit of that Act as well as others, unless it may be prolonged and continued in force by the Method I propose, and for the time that I mention ffor once the Act is expired, then My Lord Mayo, Col Brown's Son in Law, will come

upon the estate according to a Clause in the Act purposely contrived by Col Brown, and take all that is left to himself; and so under Colour of My Lord Mayo's right the Estate will be Shelter'd against me, so that it will be absolutely impossible for me ever to recover a farthing of my debt, or of the other expences I have been at in Solliciting this Act, which amounts to very near 150£. But let my losses be what they will, I do not desire your Lop to speak one Syllable on the Account of this or any other favour I have asked of you unless you think it feassable and consistent with Your great Character; for I wou'd rather Suffer anything, than importune your Lop in anything that was not proper for me to Ask, or for you to Grant.

I beg pardon a thousand times for this long and Tedious Letter, which I wou'd by no Means have troubled your Lop with, but that my own and the Churches present Necessitys compelled me to it. But what I said formerly of the smalness of our Salaries and of mine in particular, who must live in Town with so great a family, it will plainly appear that a present Augmentation from some quarter will be necessary towards the making life easy here. The only way of procuring any addition of this kind must be by applying to the Venerable Society; which your Lop I perswade myself, will endeavour to do if it be practicable, for otherwise I desire it not.

—In the mean time I wish your Lop all the health and happiness immaginable and am with a million of thanks to You for your many and great undeserved favours to me,

My ever Honor'd and Good Lord

Your Lops most humb. and dutyfull Servant

Gideon Johnston

I will give your Lop a
short Accot of this
Country in my Next.¹⁷

II

In this letter to Burnet the Commissary requests that he be appointed an S.P.G. missionary to meet his financial obligations. The "Paper" mentioned in the letter is not available.

¹⁷ Gideon Johnston to Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, Charles Town, South Carolina, September 20, 1708, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 4, XVII, pp. 246-264.

Comry Johnston to the Ld Bp of Sarum

Charles Town

11 Novr 1709

My Lord./

I most humbly thank your Lop for the Books you sent me, and the honour you have done me in writing to me ——— I now begin to recover a little health, but am still deprived of the use of my hands, and know not how long I may continue in this Condition, many things contribute to make my life very uneasie, the Scantiness of my Salary, and the excessive rate of all things here are such, that were it not for the Assistance my wife gives me by drawing of Pictures (which can last but a little time in a place so ill peopled) I shou'd not have been able to live. The inclosed Paper will in some measure shew your Lop how things are. I therefore beg your Lop to represent my Case to the Venerable Society, being perswaded that your Lops recommendation of me, will be a great inducement to that Illustrious Body, to give me some Yearly Allowance for the support of my family; By this means I shou'd be much easier and more serviceable to our Common Cause, in discharging the dutys of my Place with more chearfulness. I bless God I have not been unsuccessful that way, for the little time I have enjoyed my health; for many of those fewds and broils which much increased our unhappy divisions are by the blessing of God, greatly abated and our Churches are dayly frequented more and more ——— all that I shall add is to begg your Prayers and the Continuance of Your favour to

My Lord

Your Lops

Most humble and

Obedt Servant

Gideon Johnston¹

III

This long letter of July 5, 1710, to the secretary is all too short for the variety and exactness of information that it contains, not only on religious affairs, but on the whole social order in South Carolina. Incidentally, comparisons with England, Scotland, and Ireland add to the clarity. The reader will note at once that the Commissary

¹ Gideon Johnston to the Lord Bishop of Sarum, Charles Town, November 11, 1709, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 5, LVI. The dashes appear in the transcription.

has the gift of illuminating each subject that he discusses. He does not wander idly from one topic to another, but completes his analysis of each subject in turn. It is a temptation to comment on all the many topics brought into the letter, but brevity limits the editor and each reader will be aided in his understanding of colonial life.

This letter, written after about two years' residence in the Colony, still gives the fresh impressions of a newcomer, but it is authoritative, too, since Johnston is now familiar with local conditions. Characteristic features of the American scene appear on every page. The poverty of the new community and its heavy indebtedness make for dependence on home funds. Carolina currency is given double quotations and is now one half that of Sterling or less. Scarcity of medicines, luxury goods, books and furnishings for churches and homes will be noted. These shortages, together with an inflated currency, bore heavily upon every household.

Bitter resistance to regimentation appears even in apparently mild or innocent measures taken by the Commissary in such matters as signing the registry and conforming to the ritual in services. Among the people, spontaneous sermon and prayer are more attractive than the set services of the Prayer Book. The Commissary grows in patience and tolerance as he finds that the people cannot be ordered but yield to explanation and persuasion. Colonial interest in schools and books and tracts gives Johnston a weapon, and he continually orders this literature in English, French, and Spanish editions to satisfy the demand. The ability to read seems to be widespread. The letter contains a list of the tracts in circulation by the S.P.G. at this time and designed for use in its programs of education and propaganda.

The Dissenters are represented in the clergy by the Scotch Presbyterians, the French Huguenots, a Congregationalist, and an Anabaptist. The Commissary's strategy is interesting. The Presbyterians, with their home base in Scotland, are so strong that it occurs to him that English Presbyterians might be brought over to fill their places. Also he hopes to bring the Dissenting clergy over to the Anglican Church and thus absorb their leaderless congregations. The church-going people of all denominations show their independence by choosing their own ministers; the S.P.G. missionary has to be elected by the vestry or the congregation and, as the letter reveals, some of the clergy are deserted by their flocks

if they are considered unsatisfactory. The people also shop around from church to church, and the Commissary complains of this extreme freedom of worship in the Colony.

The picture to the Commissary is not wholly dark. The French Huguenot physician attends him and his whole family through months of illness to the extent of £40 in service and drugs and refuses any payment. The Rhetts and other "topping" families give him personal attentions, and Mrs. Rhett sends for £30 worth of church plate. Johnston admits that he did not understand the duties of a clergyman until he reached the frontier.

Defeat one day is balanced by victory another. The French Huguenots tell him they do not intend to replace their French ministers when the incumbents die. The Bray Library established at Charleston has been one-third "embezzled," the layman's library almost wholly embezzled. The sick and dying are glad to see him, unafraid of the plagues and pestilences as he is.

Perhaps his greatest victory is that over the three villians, Marsden, Marston, and Maitland. They provide a story within a story which grips the attention of the reader. Marston eliminates himself, betrayed by a high temper; Marsden falls so heavily into debt that his imaginary estates in England and Ireland are seen to be insufficient security, although he manages through his tales of them to get free transportation home for himself and his family. Maitland has the Oxford manner, but adopts the position of the Nonjuror which loses him both his parishioners and any possible support at home.

This letter, in general, falls into the discoverer's literature, here, that of a new and free society in process of creation. There is delightful humor amidst his distresses as in the description of the contrast between South Carolina as the Commissary now knows it, and as he saw it before leaving England when informing himself from books or from traders: "the goodness of the Climate, the fertility of the Soil, the plenty of all things for the life of Man . . . are not to be met with when we come upon the Spot to look for them."

The eighteenth-century letter had both a writer and a reader of a character not to be found in the modern world. The writer gave a wealth of detail and observations. The recipient perused all this meticulous description and information with equal exactness and

care. The letters to the S.P.G. were not written into a void, but when received were "abstracted" for the members of the Society. The abstracts are a study in themselves. They precisely arrange and condense the facts and narrative parts of the letter in a logical way. The work is marked by fidelity and truth in reflecting the mood of the writer. Blunt in reciting a list of complaints, the correspondent is not misrepresented or "smeared." This genius of the abstract was an art of the eighteenth century and seems to be lost with the art of the eighteenth-century letter.

Comy Johnston to the Seery

S. Carolina
Charles Town
5th July 1710

Honor'd Sir.

It is neither the want of a Just regard for you, or a profound respect for the Venerable Society and it's most Revd President; but my Continual Ailments that has been the occasion of my long silence; for altho' as you observe in your last to me I am not their Missionary, (which is my great misfortune) yet I am resolved to depend upon them, and to receive and execute their Commands with all the Submission and Deference that is due to so great and Illustrious a Body: Nor shall I fail to give them the most punctual Account of Psons and things I can from time to time, as occasion offers; and according as they shall fall within the Compass of my care or knowledge. Whatever seem'd hitherto necessary to be imparted which indeed was not much, was transmitted to his Lop the Bp of London in order to be Communicated to the Venble Society, if his Lop thought it convenient. But most of what was written to him being about the Resolution of some difficulty's that occur'd to me in the discharge of my duty here I believe his Lop did not judge it proper, to trouble the Venerable Society with anything of that kind.

I might 'tis true, spin out a lamentable History of my misfortunes and sufferings, since the first day that I engaged in this Mission: but my Brethren saved me this trouble; having written a Letter in my behalf to my Lord Bp of London with an earnest request that his Lop after his perusing it, wou'd be pleased to transmit it and recommend me to the Venble Society. But hearing nothing of this Letter, or the success of it, which was written if I

mistake not in March 1708/9 I am apt to believe, his Lop, in the hurry of business laid it aside, and so forgot to send it to you.

The Design of that Letter was to move the Venble Society's Compassion towards me; and by laying my Circumstances before them to perswade them to allow me a Salary in order to enable me to live comfortable and free from want, till God was pleased to provide for me otherwise. Something also of this kind my Wife, by my direction wrote to my Lord Bp of Sarum; for I was not able to write myself having been deprived at the time of the use of my Limbs; and 'tis with great difficulty I now write, being obliged to take a great deal of time, and to make use of both hands, this may seem strange at first View; but it will not appear so on second thoughts especially when it is consider'd that with the left I hold my right hand steddy & keep it from Shaking. But to return, I know not whether my Lord of Sarum has thought fit to lay that Letter or any part of it before the Venble Society having heard nothing of it either from his Lop or you; so that I must be forced to renew my Complaints and to apply my self directly to the Venble Society for their Assistance.

As my Body is a Scene of diseases, so is my family of poverty and misery. And my necessity's are so far from lessening, that they daily increase upon me; for what between poverty, diseases, & debts, both I and my family (10 in number) are in a most miserable and languishing Condition.

I am the only Missionary in the Province, Mr Maitland excepted, that has not an Allowance from the Society; which I do not mention out of envy or to their disadvantage (for alas! all that they get is but little enough) but only to shew the Right I have to claim this favour; because I am embark't in the same Cause, and engaged in the same design with them. Besides my family & expences are much greater than theirs in every respect; not to say anything of my continual sickness, which has been a great disadvantage to me. My whole family has been equally Exercised this way; and my wife who greatly helped me, by drawing pictures, has long ago made an end of her materials, and to add to the misfortune, God has been pleased to visit her with a long and tedious Sickness; She now is struggling with the flux and fever, as I also am; and God only knows what the Issue will be; his blessed Will be done. The many Crosses & misfortunes I have met with in the Course of my Mission,

has given me a full view of the vaniety of Worldly things; and I can in many respects now truly say with Holy David It is good for me that I have been Afflicted.

Nevertheless whilst I carry this earthly Tabernacle about me, something must be done for the Support of it; and the rather because of the Small and numerous family, with which it had pleased God to bless me, and of which I am in duty bound to take care as long as I live. But my Salary here, has never hitherto enabled me to procure them bare food and raiment; and were it not for the help my Wife has given me, and the Charity of some, and the little Credit I have with the Bakers, Butchers, & Shopkeepers, I must have Starved in such an excessive dear place as this is, for want of bread. I know the Assembly did lay my Circumstances to heart; & wou'd endeavour to make me easy, were it not that the Publick is so greatly in debt on the Accot of ffortifying and defending this Town agst the Fr. and Spaniards. The debts they have Contracted on this Occasion amounts to about 15000£ so that they are no[t] in a Condicon to do any thing to purpose for me at this time; and indeed this poor Infant Colony is so much disjoynted and out of Order among us thro' the death of Maj. Tynte our late Govr that it is not well possible for me to expect any great matters shou'd be at such a juncture done for me. Having therefore in this forlorn and desperate State of things, no other human way left me of seeking for Shelter and Protection from my necessities, than by having recourse to the Venble Society I most humbly implore their Assistance and begg that my Circumstances may be taken into their most serious Consideracon. I am perswaded that great and Noble Body of Men, (whose very business the best sort of Charity is) will make me as easy as they can, having done nothing that I know of to forfeit their favour; and why may not I that am one of the greatest Objects of their humanity and Compassion, expect to be treated with an equal degree of tenderness at least with the rest of my Brethren; none of whom ever lost or suffer'd what I have done, since my first setting out on this Religious Expedition.

Perhaps I am now in the last Scene of life; if so, the Venerable Society will be at no great expense about me, whatever they may be at about my poor Children, to whose care (next to Gods Providence) I do most earnestly recommend them. But whilst there is life there is hope; and therefore I ought not to be neglected; since

I may outlive this distemper & be able to do some good; which yet is not well possible for me to hope for, without being made easy in my Circumstances. I need not acquaint the Venble Society with the fatal effects of poverty in reference to the Ministry: the evil Consequences of this is too plain in an Age when Miracles are ceased; and the love of many is grown cold.

I have of late, unless when I have been prevented by violent fits and Paroxysms, made a shift to Preach once every Lord's day, which the unhappy divisions that still rage among us, and the unsteddy and rambling humour of my Parishioners has forced me to, altho', thro' my great weakness, very unfit for any thing of the kind: and to enable me to do this, I am very often obliged to betake my self to the use of Laudanum: But tho' I were never so healthfull and vigorous, yet the Work is absolutely too great for one Man; nor can I do that good, I might otherwise hope for in all probability, without the help and assistance of a Curate.

The Preaching twice every Sunday, for less than that will not doe in this place; the reading Prayers on all Wednesdays, ffridays, and holy days in the Year; the Catechising Children constantly once a Week: the visiting the sick, of which there is always Numbers here; and the burying the dead, which in the hot Weather is no small Work, and oftentimes very Nauseaus; the trouble of holding frequent Vestries, and the care of the poor, is too great a burden for one Man's Shoulders and what he can never well go thro' with. Whereas by the help of a good and Valuable assistant, I shou'd be greatly eased in thos Common and necessary parts of the Ministry I have just now mention'd; and shou'd be at leasure to promote peace, & to reëconcile those that are at Strife or enmity with one another. By this means likewise, I shou'd be at leasure to visit the dissenters of all kinds and by meekness and gentleness to endeavour to reclaim them, and bring them back to the Church. Besides there is hardly on[e] Pson in the Parish, that has not some religious Whim or Scruple peculiar to himself; which it is impossible for me to remove or speak to successfully without a Particular acquaintance and frequent Visits and Conferences; and how can I do these things when all my time is rather too little than any thing else, for my Studies (which I industriously bring within the narrowest Compass) and all the other more immediate and indispensable dutys of my place.

As for Sermons, tho' they were never so nicely Calculated and adapted to these purposes, yet it is not in the Power of the most Skilfull Preacher to come up to the Case of every Single Person; because for want of time as I have just now observed, he must be too great a Stranger to many of his hearers, so as to be able to speak home to their particular Circumstances: And tho' the minister cou'd do this, yet in many Cases it may be neither safe nor prudent so to do; because it wou'd look too much like pointing, and wou'd disoblige and disgust rather than any thing else. I have ever carefully avoided the splitting on this Rock, tho' at the same time my Conscience also bears me witness, that I have according to the best of my Skill and power, rightly divided the Word of Truth, neither concealing, nor prevaricating in, any part of it, for any or Worldly Consideration whatsoever. I have notwithstanding all my care and Caution in this respect, been accused of pointing more than once upon my entrance on this Cure; but I soon undeceived my Accusers, and convinced them of their mistakes: And because I wou'd not be continually lyable to such Cavils and braullery's for the future, I took occasion in a Set Discourse to adjust and place the Reciprocal Duty of a Minister and his Congregation in it's true light; and this effectually prevented all farther mistakes; nor do I now hear any thing of the kind, altho' my discourses, according to the necessity of the times, and as my knowledge of the People increases are now more plain and vehement.

One thing I bless God for, is that I have lost none to the dissenters, since I came to this place: And if I have gained any from them to a full Conformity and Communion with us, the number is so inconsiderable being only two, that it is scarce worth while to name them. I will only say that the Church fills apace, much beyond what it was when I first came. But I shall never reckon this any great Advantage, till I find that they communicate with us. I might impose perhaps on the Venble Society and magnify things in my own favour to an undue Pitch; as I am more than afraid some have formerly done; But I thank God, as far as I know, none of the Missionaries now here are chargable with this imputation, being Persons of great worth and Integrity, and vastly Superior to any little Artifices or tricks of this kind, and as for my self, I trust in God, the Venerable Society will never have Cause to Complain of my Veracity.

But to return, never was a People so wretchedly Crippled concerning the use of the Sacraments, and between the Church & Conventicles, as they are generally here, for they have gotten such Strange Notions & Whims in their heads about these things, and have fallen into such a Comprehensive and Latitudinarian way, that it is the hardest thing in the World to perswade 'em out of it.

I mention these things, not only for the Information of the Venble Society, that they may know the true State of Religion here, and give me their best advice and Instructions in these matters; but also to shew the great necessity I am in for want of an Assistant, in so populous and trading a place; and how much frequent Visits & private Conferences, and an Intimate Acquaintance and Conversation with my Parishioners of all kinds, are necessary to render my Ministerial Labours successful among them. This must be a Work of great time and application, as well as patience and perseverance; and this, together with all the other parts of my Charge, abundantly proves the necessity of sending me some good and peaceable Man to assist me.

God has been pleased to bless my endeavrs with our late Govr and the Assembly towards the laying the ffoundaⁿtion of a good School here.¹ But to give this Project the greater life and dispatch, it will be in my opinion, necessary for the Venble Society to put the Govr and Assembly here, for the time being, in mind of it, and to press them to perfect that, which they have so commendably begun: Nor ought the Lords Proprietors to be forgotten on this occasion; who, by the Venble Society's application to them may be prevail'd upon to Contribute something towards this design.

I have likewise made some attempts to procure the establishment of the Chu: upon a better botom and nearer the Model of the

¹ Entitled "An Act for the Founding and Erecting a Free school for the use of the Inhabitants of South Carolina," this measure was passed on April 8, 1710. A commission was authorized for the support and maintenance of masters, and for erecting schoolhouses and houses for the teachers. The commissioners, who met annually on the second Tuesday in July, received monies previously or subsequently given for the purpose, and could take up by grant from the proprietors or purchase such land as they thought necessary. The master of the school must be of the Church of England, and capable of teaching Latin and Greek and mathematics. The commissioners, comprising the leading men of all parties, churchmen, Dissenters, and Huguenots, included Johnston and his associate, Francis Le Jau of Goose Creek Parish. See Thomas Cooper, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1837), II, pp. 342-346, for this act.

Church of England, and shou'd have infallibly gained my point, had I not on second thoughts been deterr'd from it, partly because the thing it self was of two great Consequence to be carryed on or managed without receiving instruccions from my Superiours about it; and partly because some of My Brethren, to whose Judgment I shall always bear a great deference, did not seem to approve of it: And for these reasons I put a Stop to the Act that the Governour and Assembly were passing for that purpose. By this You may see, that my continued Ailmts and Weaknesses has not been able to prevent my care for this Infant Church, as far as my skill and power reached. And may I but have sufficient Instructions and encouragement from my Superiours in the Venerable Society and elsewhere, I hope, with God's blessing, on my honest endeavours, whenever I am call'd off from the Stage by death or otherwise, to leave things in a more settled and regular way, than I found them.

One thing I must begg of the Venble Society and that is, that I may be permitted to return for South Britain, and be taken care of there, if it shall so please God that I cannot have my health in this Place. It will be impossible for me to live long here, if the Vigours of the Climate and the Distempers incident to it shou'd continue to persecute me much longer; Nor do I think, that I shall ever recover the wonted Strength and Vigour of my Constitution, after the hardships that I indured on that Moroon Island on which I was unhappily set ashoar, upon my Arrival in this Province, without returning to South Britain for some little time. If I can escape with my life from hence, it is highly probable, that a little Brittish Air and diet would set me upon my feet again; and then I will most chearfully return to my Charge here, or be otherwise disposed of, according as the Venble Society shall think fit. Perhaps God in his good appointed time, will be graciously pleased to restore me to my health, before I have the Venerable Society's Resolution in this Affair; and then all difficulties on this Account will vanish on both sides: But for fear it shou'd prove otherwise, I do most humbly begg the Venble Society's permission and assistance in this case; for I have made a Resolution never to desert my post, till I am regularly and Cannonically Commanded away from it, or permitted to leave it: And on the other hand, it will be impossible for me to return, without the Venble Society's Assistance; for my Creditors will not suffer me to go any where, without clearing

Scores with them. I lived here four Months on my own Charge before I was elected; and the Debts that I contracted in my own defense at that time, I cou'd never yet clear off, not to say any thing of those, which I have been since forced to Contract thro' the Scantyness of my Salary.² And this evidently shews the necessity there is of not only allowing me a Salary in proportion of my present Wants and Circumstances here; but also of having a retrospect of what is past. I do most religiously assure the Venble Society that I will never abuse their ffavours of any kind, being firmly perswaded, that to procure any advantage from them by any little trick or Artifice, when I really wanted it wou'd be an unpardonable peice of Sacrilege, and such a Crime as no Character cou'd be too black, or punishment too heavy for it. 'Tis true the Venble Society may find me for some time a burdensome Missionary to them; But then let it be consider'd, that the Duty's of my place, and the expences attending it, are at least doubly greater than those of others, I speak with Compass: and besides, if it please God to free me from my Diseases, and the Venble Society from my wants, I shall in all humane probability, be able to do more good, because I shall have more frequent opportunity's than any of my Brethren can have in their respective parishes. I hope you will bear with the length of the Lre, being obliged to give the fullest Account of things to the Venble Society, and to place them in the Clearest light, that a right estimate and Judgment may be made of them, & measures taken accordingly. And I perswade myself what I have farther to Add, will not be unacceptable or fforeign to that Correspondence which is expected from me.

Dr John Thomas a ffrenchman, the only Pson that deserves the Name of a Phisician in this place has been extreemly kind and generous to me: for ever since my Arrival one or other of the family has been continually sick; and many times all of [them are] down at once: he has constantly attended us on all occasions, prescribing what was necessary for us, and furnishing us with proper Drugs; When I call'd for a Bill, and did conclude by a Moderate Computation I cou'd not owe him less than 40£ his Visits being without Number, and Druggs here being excessively dear, he told me he wou'd

² An addition to the Church Act of November 30, 1706, passed on April 8, 1710, provided that the arrears of parochial charges for the establishments of the Church of England be paid out of the public treasury, and allowed to Johnston an addition of £50 per annum to his salary of £150.

not take one single farthing from me: and was only sorry that he cou'd not restore me to my health as soon as he cou'd wish. He still continues the same good Man to us, and fails not to attend us and to furnish us with every thing that is in his power, every day and hour we want it. And surely when such uncommon Civilitys are shewn to any Missionary, the Venble Society will find themselves obliged to favour such a person, by your hands, with a short acknowledgement which will be not only a kind of reward to him, but will incourage others likewise to an Imitation of his Bounty. But let the Success be what it will as to point of Imitation, yet surely those that do well are prease worthy.

There are other Gentlemen of the same Nation, that have distinguished themselves in my favour, which are Messrs St Julien, Le Noble & Mazeick. And if the Venble Society think fit to thank Dr. Thomas, the same favour is to a great degree due to them.

I must not on this occasion forget Sr Nathaniel Johnson, our late good Govr who is a Constant Benefactor to me. Nor is Mr Trott, Mr Izard, Col. Risbee, Col. Parris and their Ladies; as also Col. Grange, Capt. Nary, all my parishioners, (for all those I have named belong not to my parish) Col. Rhet and his Singularly good Lady has manifested their zeal for Religion and the Church, by that tender care and regard they have expressed for me their unworthy Minister. And Madam Rhet besides her private Charitys which are very great has sent for 30£ of plate for this Church. I do not know whether the Venble Society will think it proper to return any or all of these Persons, thanks: But according to my slender judgment and apprehension of things such a peice of Condescension as this, wou'd be of great use in many respects.

Mr L'escot the ffrench Minister of this Place is a Person of great Merit; and has since my arrival greatly distinguished himself in favour of the Church of England, against the Dissenting Ministers hereabouts. I did let him into a great many things in our Church. to which he was formerly a Stranger: and in other things wherein he was misled or carryed away by the false and Malicious Insinuations of the Presbyterian Ministers, I did set him streight; so that now on all occasions, he acts the Part of a Church of England Minister, and argues warmly for it. He wou'd most willingly receive Episcopal Ordination, cou'd he conveniently go for South Britain; & proposed this to some of the most topping of his Con-

gregation, but they wou'd not hear of it for two reasons; first, because they were very well satisfyed as to the sufficiency and validity of his Ordination, by the French Ministers in London; and 2dly because they cou'd not be without him for so long a time, as a Voyage to S. Britain wou'd require. I wish he were favour'd wth a short Billet for that good Will and Affection he bears to the Church of England; and shou'd Mr Truilliant, another French Minister, be mention'd in the same Letter, or honour'd with another, it wou'd be of great use and advantage to secure many of the French from going over to the Dissenters, who now seem to lean that way. Their Ministers, to be sure, can influence them, & give such a Bias to their understandings and apprehensions of things, to a great degree, as they shall think fit. After this present Set of Ministers is dead or gone, they are resolved to have no more: And therefore in my humble opinion, things ought to be managed so, as that we may by all the honest Means we can think of, Prevent their joyning with the Dissenters, upon the Death of their Ministers. Shou'd the Venble Society be pleased to send some French Common Prayer Books of the better sort, and a few other ordinary ones, but all wth the Singing Psalms, to be distributed among them, as occasion shall offer, I doubt not, but it wou'd turn to some Account.

We are extremely in want here of Common Prayer Books for our own use; and wish the Venble Society wou'd send us 100. of them: with the New Version of Psalms in them: I believe most of these may be bought, and the People will be glad to get them at any reasonable price; provided the Books be a good Print and well bound. I have continual complaints made to me on this occasion for want of Prayer Books: and I will undertake the Venble Society, shall be reimburs'd for all these Books, unless it be for a few that may be given gratis to the poorer sort. Bp Beveridges Book concerning the necessity and advantage of publick prayer & frequent Communion, wou'd be greatly acceptable to my Parishioners, so likewise wou'd the Christians way to heaven; an Essay toward making the knowledge of Religion easy to the meanest capacity; an answer to all the excuses and pretences, which men ordinarily make for their not coming to Holy Communion; plain Instructions for the Young and ignorant comprised in a short and easy Exposition of the Church Catechism; in which it were to be wished, that all the Texts or places of Scripture refer'd to in it, were printed at

full length, for the greater ease & advantage of those, who may read that small Treatise: Some short and plain directions for spending one day well: the Sick Christian's Companion, a few of which I formerly had; as also a perswasive to a serious preparation for death & Judgment; and a familiar Guide to the right and profitable receiving of the Lord's Supper; a number of those little Tracts wou'd be of singular use, & highly acceptable to most of my parishionrs and I am perswaded, they wou'd be soon bought up, a few only excepted which shou'd be given to those who are not well able to buy them; the reason which induces me to suppose they may be bought is, because I was Offer'd money for many of those little Books, which the Society upon my coming hither, gave me to distribute among the People: but as I freely reced them, so I freely gave them away.

The Provincial Library in this place is greatly imbezel'd between Mr Marston and Mr Marsden, a third part of the books being wanting. And shou'd the Venble Society be pleased to favour me with some Books for my own use, as their own Missionary, it wou'd be of great advantage to me. I have taken all the pains I can in endeavouring to recover the Library Books, having charged the Clergy to give their parishionrs publick Notice to return such as they have in their hands, and to make the narrowest enquiry they can in their respective P[ar]ishes about them; but the success hitherto has not answer'd my expectation, altho' this attempt has not proved altogether fruitless. The plain truth is, the Act concerning the Provincial Library here, is altogether wrong; nor have I ceased upon proper occasions to express my dislike of it: ffor it makes it a Lending Library to every Inhabitant of this province; whereas it is evident by the Catalogue of Books, and by the very Original design and foundation of this Library, that it was purposely intended for the use of the Missionaries that shou'd be sent hither, who had not Books of their own, to enable them to prosecute their necessary Studies and to qualify them thoroughly for the business of their ffunction; and what farther confirms me in this opinion is; that there is a Lending Library here for Laymen, which is much more imbezel'd than the other. Mr Marston is greatly to blame for this, who obstinately refuses to give in a list of such Books as he in his time gave out, as well as Mr Marsden, my immediate predecessors in this Place.

And now that I have mention'd these Gentlemen, it is fit that I shou'd give the Venble Society a short account of them.

Mr Marston after he had been depriv'd of this Parish, betook himself to the next that wanted a Minister, and wou'd have been infallibly elected by the Parishioners, had he not too soon manifested the heat and violence of his temper among them: They were so disgusted by his rough and Magisterial way of treating them, that they intirely forsook him. Nevertheless he continued in that Parish till Mr Marsden was formally elected Minister of it by the People, when he had resign'd this: After this he set up for a Phisician, but few or none wou'd trust themselves to his Skill: he afterwards was admitted and Sworn an Attorney by the Chief Justice of this Province; but all the practice he had was from himself, and he was his own and only Client; one or two at most excepted, that gave him a small ffee. He prosecuted several persons for depriving him of his ffreehold or Benefice in this place, but always with ill Success; and I doubt not but I should have felt the weight of his fury, had I not been at that time out of his way in the Countrey, whither I was obliged to retire for the benefit of the Air. My Brethren, who were so kind as to supply my Cure during the time of my sickness and retirement, he threatened most grievously; and he actually Arrested one Mr Williams for 60£ which the Assembly had given this Williams for officiating in this place, after he had been deprived: He has been in this Town for above a Year, and has never been at Church during that time, only once, when Dr Le Jau officiated for me: He looks upon all the Clergy of this province to be ignorant fellows, because not bred at Oxford or Cambridge; and a parcel of Schismatiicks and Intruders and therefore not fit to be joyned with in Communion: The Revolution Clergy of all degrees, he reproaches and Condemns as Rebels and Schismatiicks, and particularly his Lop the Bishop of London, whom he calls a Murderer and Perjur'd person on the Score of the Revolution: He excommunicated Mr Trott our late Chief Justice as also Mr Marsden my Predecessor sometime before my Arrival; and he has about eight days ago done the same to Col. Gibbs, for standing in Competition with Col. Broughton for the Government of this Province, on the death of Major Tynte the late Govr. He greatly reflects on my weakness and incapacity because I do not at his Instance proscribe and put under the Ecclical. Ban, all those

that he complains of and accuses whether Clergy or Laity and he quarrels wth every one, that is not of the same Sentiments with himself: He has been lately to the Southward, and visited, as I hear, the Neighbouring Indians. He might have been chosen Minister of St Bartholomews the most Southern Parish of this province, had not the same unhappy temper, which cost him Christ Church Parish, and which no Calamity or Affliction of any kind has bin hitherto able to cure him, prevented it. In his last Rambles to the Southward, he turn'd Poet, moved thereto, as he says in a Letter of his to Mr Turberville, by the Murtle Groves and Shady Bowers, and the other Romantic Pleasures of that place. I have seen some of his performances this way, many of which I was ashamed of, and which had they been absolutely perfect in their kind, wou'd have been much better let alone as too trifling an exercise and employment for a person of his Years and Original profession. What more I have to add concerning him is this, that if ever you see him, and have any manner of acquaintance or conversation with him, you will, I believe, be much of the same opinion with me, that he is an odd sort of Man, and as to his temper, one of the most unfit persons in the World for being a Clergyman.

Mr Marsden his immediate successor in this Town and Parish, had made a shamefull exit: he fled hither from Maryland, pretending he was sent by the Lord Bp of London, and that his Letters and Instructions to that purpose had been blown overboard by the Wind, as he was drying them after they were wet, in his Passage to this Place. The People, at that time, were as they still are irreconcilably prejudiced against Mr Marston: and Mr Marsden who managed his business with a great deal of Assurance, made his advantage of this, and was received and Caressed, as one directly sent to them from heaven. Thus he continued the Darling of the People, and was in some time after Elected their Minister, tho' Mr Wood was actually upon the Spot, and was sent purposely by the Lord Bp of London to be Minister of Charles Town: Mr Trott, Col. Rhet and others opposed his being elected, till they had an answer to those publick Letters which the Govr and Council had written to my Lord of London for a good Minister to be sent to them: But the generality of the People carryed it in favour of Mr Marsden to the manifest prejudice of Mr Wood, and without waiting for an answer to the last Letter the Govr and Council wrote

to their Diocesan; which last Letter was sent away before Mr Wood's arrival. But to return; Mr Marsden by his plausible behaviour, and an unwearied Industry in insinuating himself into the Affections of all those, whose favour and Countenance he judged necessary to carrying on his designs, continued the People's darling and made a Shift to get deep in their Debt. When I came, recommended not only by my Diocesan, and the Venble Society, but also by the Lords Proprietors as Minister of Charles Town; yet they wou'd hear of no Minister but Mr Marsden; they had gotten a good Man and they wou'd keep him; they had an Act of their own, by virtue of which they elected him, and they wou'd stand by their choice and that Act: Nor cou'd they apprehend what the Bp of London, the Venble Society, or the Lords Proprietors had to do with them, in such matters: and not satisfied with this proceeedure, a Select Number of them waited in a Body on the Govr and Council, and told them plainly they wou'd never receive me, and therefore desired that they might be no farther press'd on my account. Thus things pass'd greatly to my disadvantage, being obliged to take up some advance Money out of the Trea[su]ry for the payment of which Sr Nathaniel Johnson was bound, as also to borrow some from him, to subsist my family in this dismal State till Mr Marsden was pleased to resign; and to add to my misfortune I had my house twice broke open, and robbed of several things during this Interval. At this rate I continued about four Months being forced to live in an hired house, and on my own proper Charge and cost, till Mr Marsden did actually resign, and was elected Minister of the next parish; altho' he used all the tricks he cou'd underhand, to tire out my patience, and to make me weary of the Country.

After this my Election came on, which was a Work of time and formality; and tho' Mr Marsden had dimitted, because he saw the Game he played wou'd not hold long, yet he continued still his underhand practices to keep me out, and to open a back door for his return, which gave me no small trouble; so that the Election for that time was put off, and adjourned for a ffortnight longer, and then the Number that appear'd were but Seven, two of which were ffrenchmen, and by these, and no more, was I chosen; the rest of the Parishioners being thirty to one, modestly speaking refused to concur in the Election, and it was afterwards said by them that my Election was not legal, nor consequently had I any right to be

Minister of that Parish. All this while I possess'd my Soul in patience and did my duty under all these discouragements. The fruits of this patience and perseverance I in a very little time reap'd; and those who were then my greatest enemys are now my very good friends; and have expressed their Concern for the trouble they rashly gave me. Upon his quitting this place he had a present of 50£ made to him by the people to buy him a Slave; and in his New Parish he told me he got Subscriptions for 90£ P. Ann. so that insted of loosing he gain'd greatly by quitting this place, considering that his Income was equall, and that he cou'd live twice at least cheaper there than he cou'd do if he were Minister of this Town; and did I say he cou'd do it thrice cheaper in the Country, I shou'd not say amiss. Thus all things succeeded wth this lucky deceiver, which nevertheless did not prevent his contracting New debts and he was particularly dextrous at drawing Sham Bills on Merchants and others in London and elsewhere, by which he gull'd and Cheated many of several Considerable Sums; but he foresaw this Trade cou'd not last long, and some Bills came back protested; and therefore finding himself in danger of being publicly exposed, and imprisoned, if he staid longer, he Mortgaged privately, all that he had; to those Persons, whom the Bills return'd protested to: and got leave from his parishioners, as also from the Govr and Council, by an Instrument under their hands, to go for England, in order to look after an Estate which had fallen to him by the death of an Uncle, as he pretended; for the Management of which a Years time was allowed him. Thus he went off considerably indebted to the Country, which his Creditors wou'd have never suffer'd had not the generality of them a great opinion of his integrity; and did not doubt but he wou'd return, because he left his Wife and Children behind him. In his passage he tricked the Master of the Ship of twenty Guineas at Cork where he landed, by the help of a Sham Bill; and at Dublin he served a Considerable Merchant there with the same Trick for a much greater Sum. ffrom thence he passed to South Britain where he now is and absconds I suppose in some part of the Country where he is not known. I saw two of his Letters owning these last particulars, & promising payment as soon as he had disengaged himself from some trouble given him by a Relation about his Uncle's estate; and earnestly desiring, that very Master of the Vessell whom he had tricked out of 20 Guineas, to

bring him his Wife and ffamily for S. Britain, in regard he had gotten a Curaey of 80£ P. Ann. besides other considerable Perquisites; and that as soon as the Minister dyed who was a very old and Decrepit Man, he was sure of the Parish which was worth above 300£ P. Ann. the patron having secured the presentation of that Living to him. But his Letters gave no Accot where he was, or how he may be met with. When he went off from this place, he procured the largest Testimonials from the Govr and Council that ever I saw, and at which I was extremely surprised when he brought them to me to peruse; nor did I fail to speak my mind freely upon this occasion: to be short he has been the ruin of many in Maryland and this Province. I had a Lre from Col. Seymour the late Govr of Maryland concerning him, wch I transmitted to my Lord of London, and I had another from the Revd Mr Evans of Philadelphia which I herewith send to you. To put an end to his Character, he might have done a great deal of good here, had he been an honest Man, being exceedingly and indeed unaccountably beloved by the most part of the people, altho' he was, at sometime greatly unworthy this happy advantage. He left his Wife and three Children together with his Brother In Law behind him; his Br dyed heartbroken thro' the losses he had sustained by being bound for him in Maryland; and his Wife in a short time after followed her Brother being overwhelmed with an insupportable grief. The Children are disperst among the Neighbours; and thus this unhappy Man ruin'd his family and friends, by his love of Merchandizing for this was the delight of his Soul, and by his fraudulent and extravagant dealings. Nor is the Scandal he has brought upon the profession, less mischievous to us, who suffer on his Accot and are treated with less regard for his sake; for who can they trust many people say, or what confidence can they place in any Minister, after being deceived by such a plausible Man as Mr Marsden?

The next Person I am to speak of, is Mr Maitland, concerning whom you desire a particuar Information; I am sorry I cannot give you any satisfactory account of him. He was greatly admired and followed in the beginning by his parishioners of all persuasions, and particularly by the Presbyterians, who were wonderfully taken with his way of preaching which was Extempore, and in all points conformable to the usual Method of the Dissenters.

he might have done a great deal of good, most of his Parishioners being dissenters, had he not pointed at people in his Sermons and had not he indulged his passions to a very unjustifiable degree, and broke out very frequently and without Cause into the most opprobrious and reviling Language. This necessarily lost him the Affections of the People, and made him a great many enemies; so that whereas his Church was formerly Crowded with a Numerous Auditory, not above three Persons come now to the Church at most; and sometimes he has nothing but the bare Walls to preach to. I made a shift to travel thither last January, where I preached and read Prayers, and endeavour'd to reconcile him and his Parishioners together; I brought things to bear so, that they were willing to try him for 3 Months, upon Condition if he did not reform within that time, he shou'd be gone. The Church was full upon that occasion more than ever was seen before. And Mr Maitland did solemnly promise to be a New Man. I gave him the best advice I cou'd in that Critical juncture, but soon after my return home I had fresh Complaints made to me, and a great many ugly things was laid to his Charge—things are now grown to that height, that it is morally impossible to reconcile them to him, and therefore he resolves to go off if they will pay his debts and give him a little money to transport himself elsewhere. He fell out with two Dissenting Ministers, and gave them very ill Language. I was once an eye & ear witness of his behaviour upon one of these unhappy occasions, and my words restrain'd him from striking one of them, altho' they cou'd not prevent his ill Language. The ground and occasion of his quarrel was equally silly and unreasonable, and he did not reproach me a little for taking their part, as he term'd it. I was greatly asham'd and Confounded at what happen'd, & the rather, because it was at one of the Presbyterian Ministers houses and to prevent any ill consequences which might arise from his barbarous usage of these Persons I sent him a Peremptory Citacon to appear at such a day before me and to give an Account of his late Conduct.—Accordingly he came, and after taking a great deal of pains, and bearing abundance of ill Language, I made him Sign a paper, wherein under his hand he confessed his fault, and promised he wou'd begg pardon of those two Ministers, whom he had thus unreasonably abused, as also of Mr Wood and me, whom he had most grossly handled, because we advised him to a better and more

peaceable temper. The reason why I made him Sign such a paper, was because he broke his word before with me more than once and denied that he had ever made any promises to me for his good behaviour; and therefore because I wou'd not be continually wrangling wth him about these Matters, I got that paper from him, that I might always have it to confront him with. But in regard he is now going off, I transmitted it, together with a Letter of his and my Answer to it, to my Lord Bishop of London: To give you his Character in one word; he is a person of a fiery and unpeaceable temper and has created himself both in and out of his Parish an infinite deal of trouble & Enemies, having neither his Tongue nor his Passion under any tolerable discipline or Government and this joyned with an unreasonable opinion of himself must needs make him unhappy wherever he goes. He says he will be quite another Man, and now plainly sees into the folly of his former Conduct. He is raw and unexperienced; and it is possible his late misfortunes & experience will make a Change in him for the better which I heartily pray for as well for his own as for the Churches sake. It is with great unwillingness that I give this Accot of those three Gentlemen; being conscious to myself of many grievous failings and infirmity's, and having in mind that of the Apostle, *let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall*; but on the other hand, the Commands of the Venble Society hinted at in Your Letter, and the Publick good of the Church, are arguments too powerfull to be resisted. I am so far from taking delight in making any particular representations, that I wou'd to God all of us were such as we ought to be, and then there wou'd be no need of telling these ungratefull truths.

It was not well possible for me to keep an exact Notitia Parochialis hitherto, partly because of my continual sickness; and partly because I cannot yet bring the Communicants in my parish, to give in their Names, according to the Rubrick. From the first Moment, I enter'd upon this Cure, I have from the pulpit and in private Conversations endeavour'd to bring them to a full Conformity in this point. They were strangely surprized at the first intimation of this thing; and some of them threatned to go over to the dissenters, immagining this was a trap laid for them. The Prejudice they took against this usefull peice of discipline, was industriously fomented by Mr Marsden underhand as being too

rigorous and unnecessary; that it was for the most part grown obsolete and laid aside at home, and that such severe Methods were inconsistent with the State of this Infant Church. But on the next Lords day I took occasion to enlarge upon this Subject, and laid the blame at my Predecessor's doors, for their neglect in this matter, I explain'd the design of this peice of Church discipline, and convinced that there was a great deal of good and no harm in it; that it was for their Credit and Advantage to give in their Names in order to be registered and distinguished from those that did not Communicate. That it was not possible for a Minister to do his duty aright, or to apply himself to the Cases of particular Persons without such a List made of the Names of those that did Communicate: That the neglectors or Despisers of the Holy Communion cou'd not be brought to a sense of their sin and danger, without their being first known; and then how was it possible for a Minister to distinguish Communicants from Non Communicants but by that Method, which the Rubrick prescribes; that the Churches Authority ought to be of great moment and weight in an Affair in which there is not the least Colour of evil; and that many inconveniences may arise from a Neglect of this duty, because some may come to the Lords table, that are not fit to receive; in which case the Minister must publickly reject them, which wou'd be very shocking and of ill consequence; or else he must admit them, and then that wou'd be acting contrary to his known duty and Conscience. All which evils and inconveniences wou'd be wholly prevented by giving in their Names before hand. I have been the more prolix in this, to shew the difficulty's I have met with in the discharge of my Office, and the Arguments I made use of to remove them out of the way. Blessed be God they are now easy and quiet under this discipline; and I doubt not in a little time, if I have my health to make perfectly conformable.

There is nothing that I more earnestly and frequently strive for, than to bring people to a just sense of their duty concerning the Lords Supper; for I certainly conclude, if I can once persuade them to receive frequently, I can easily perswade them to any thing else that is holy and good. Many of our Church ffolks have been prevail'd upon to receive, which perhaps were never known to receive before; and to promote a Spirit of Religion among them, and to engage them by all the honest Arts I can think of, I made a

Set discourse concerning the benefit and advantage of setting up and forming Religious Society's; by which means all such as were lovers of God and goodness would save themselves from this untoward Generation, & keep themselves unspotted from the World by supporting and inflaming one anothers hearts with proper Arguments, in the Course of a holy life, & by prayer and Psalmody on Select days. I cannot say much as yet to the Success of this Project, but I trust in God he will bless my honest endeavours this way, to some degree, and that I shall not altogether lose my Labour. I herewith send you a Letter I had on this occasion, from a Tradesman lately come to this place by which You may in part see my care and concern about these Matters. I must own myself greatly improved, since I came hither; I scarce knew what it was to be a Minister before; But the Strangeness and singularity of the Peoples humour here, with respect to Religion, and the Difficulties that has Occur'd to me on this Account has awaken'd my Care and Diligence to an uncommon degree, and God has inspired me with greater measures of Zeal and Spirit, than I could formerly feel in my self for carrying on the Common Cause.

I have frequently conversed with the Indian Traders, and find by their Concurrent Testimony, that it is no hard matter to Convert the Indians. I must confess I am of the same opinion, and do know nothing that would Obstruct it more; than the Scandalous Lives of those very Traders, who are a Wretched sort of Men. Did my health permit me, and were I enabled by the Venble Society to visit some of the Indian Nations I should be capable of giving a more distinct and particular Account of this matter. But were I never so well and able in all other respects yet the single Want of a Curate or Assistant would totally Mar and ruine this design.

Another thing of Consequence I must not forget to impart to you, and that is the most likely way of gaining the Dissenters. The Body of them are a sort of people not to be reason'd with, and are generally incapable of Argument. That which gains most upon them, is the appearance of a good life join'd with an Obliging and Condescending temper. This certainly is the most probable way of making them entertain a good Opinion both of us and the Church; but it must be own'd also, that it is the least dispatching and most tedious, altho' there is no doing any great good among them without it. In my humble Opinion, the shortest way with the Dissenters

wou'd be to strike at the very root of the Schism, by directly attacking their Ministers in the first place; and once these are gained, many of the rest will in all humane probability follow. The want of a Teacher, which they must necessarily sustain in such a Case, will oblige them to come over to us till they are supplied with one from Europe: and during this Interval, they may come to like our way of Worship better, and never think of returning to their Conventicles again. But let this happen as it will, yet if their Teacher be once gained, a prudent and discreet Minister, will make his advantage of such an opportunity, and may endeavour to bring them back, without being Molested in this Work, having no Minister of theirs to Contradict or oppose him.

This seems to me to be the most Compendious Method in carrying on this Work. But it is not possible to do it without the Venble Society's assistance; for no Dissenting Minister will be prevail'd upon to quit that party and lose his bread, unless he has some other certain way proposed to him of being able to live among us: to Guard therefore against this Inconvenience, the Venble Society will, I hope, put it in my power to remove it, whensoever it may lye in my way to an undertaking of this kind: for indeed it wou'd be a miserable encouragement for any of their Teachers to come over to us, only that they and their families may starve among us. I can from my own experience say, that I am morally sure, I shou'd have gained one if not two of their Minrs in this place, whom I made some attempts upon, did not the want of present Subsistance lie as an unsurmountable difficulty in my way, and without which it was not possible for them to go for London to be Ordained and disposed of where the Venble Society shou'd think fit.

Our late Govr Majr Tynte on the 26th day of June, died of a Complication of Distempers, and hastned his own death for want of taking that just care of himself that he ought in so unhealthfull a Climate. Things here are in great Confusion, there being two Competitors for the Government Col. Broughton and Col. Gibbs; the last of which has gotten the Advantage of the other, tho' he had but little right, and abundantly less merit on his side. Gibbs and his party were continually in Arms day and Night to secure his Claim, which yet wou'd have signified nothing, had not the other to prevent the effusion of blood, relinquished his pretensions, till the Lords Proprietors were apprized of the Matter. Col.

Broughton was greatly superior to the other in point of friends and Interest, but out of a public principle, he chose the more peaceable way. The Contest lasted ten days and this afternoon being the 12th July they came to an Accomodation. Col. Broughton is a Person of singular merit, and of a most just and Peaceable Disposition; and your Missionaries in this Province do heartily wish he were our Govr because in him we shou'd find a true friend and Protector of this Infant Church.

I reced the two Boxes of Spanish New Testaments &c., which you sent me, and have made a distribution of them, as there was Occasion. The Spanish Testaments are of little use at present and most of them lie on hand Your Missionaries, for so I call the whole Clergy of this Province, not knowing how to dispose of them. Mr Wood is desperately ill of the flux, and in great danger. This Distemper is one of those incident to this Climate, and has been fatal to a great many this Year. It is not now so violent either on me or my wife, having put some stop to it by the use of hypocochoana & Laudanum; but we cannot by any of those means, that we have hitherto used, intirely shake it off. I dread it more than any other disease, and pray to God to give me Grace to prepare myself for that Change, which I am in this place almost every day threatned with; and which I know, wherever I am, will swiftly and unavoidably come upon me. I have been greatly afflicted with Nephritick pains and a Stoppage of Urine; and upon taking some anti-rheumatick Tincture which my good Lord of Lonn sent me I was eased of those pains to wch the voiding of a little Stone did undoubtedly contribute, but I have great reason to believe there are some still behind; and there is little help to be had from any of the Doctors of this place in so Critical a disease, the best of them, having originally been no more than Barbers. Dr Le Jau has been lately ill of the fever and Ague, but I hear he is now well as also Mr Maule and Mr Hasel and the two french Ministers Mr La Pierre and Gignillat.

Altho' we cannot in all respects, stick close to the Rubrick & Canons in the discharge of our duty among our several flocks, it being in some Cases as things stand now, utterly impossible; yet among our Selves, we ought to be strict and exact Observers of the Ecclesiastical Laws and Church discipline. There wou'd not be so many complaints in all parts of the difficulty's that Occur in the execu-

tion of the Ministerial function, were the Missionary's generally resolved and steady, and did not relax from the Canons and Rubrick, but where there was an unavoidable necessity for it. But the fear of disoblising and the desire of being easy by humouring every Man in his own way will never do the Work, and is betraying the Church, and giving up the Cause. I know by my own experience, what Resolution and steddyness may do, joyn'd with a sufficient Stock of patience and discretion, by the success I had in perswading the People to give in their Names before they reced: and in the business of Godfathers and Godmothers; so that I have now intirely gotten the better of them in these things. If therefore the Venble Society will charge me with this and Command me that the Canons and Rubrick be complied with, as far as is possibly consistent with the good of Religion and the Church, I shall be for the future a little more watchfull, having hitherto left my Brethren at full liberty to do as they pleas'd. The Missionaries have often occasion to lodge at Nights in their Parishioners houses, when they visit them or are sent for to perform some contingent duty; in which case some make use of the prayers contained in the Common Prayer Book at Morning and Evening; and some choose to pray in a set fform of their own after the dissenting manner. The reason why I mention this is, because in that preliminary Article in the Common Prayer Book—concerning the Service of the Church, it is said that all Priests & Deacons are to say dayly the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or publickly &c. by which it appears to me, that all Conceiv'd or Extemporary Prayers are discountenanced at least, if not actually forbidden. And it is easy to guess, without naming things, why this Caution was inserted. But the Venble Society's Judgment in this matter, shall be the Rule by which I and the rest of my Brethren intend to walk.

The Superintendency of the Clergy in this Province is no small trust, as you observe in your Letter and I will do all that in me lies to discharge it with all the prudence and fidelity I can. But then, I hope the Venble Society will give me such due encouragement and assistance, as is necessary to enable me to execute my Commision aright, by strictly Charging all of us in your publick Letters to do our dutys in our several Stations and Capacities; and to express our Care and Concern for the safety and Welfare of our holy Mother the Church of England, by a Strictly conformable &

Canonical behaviour and Conduct among our Selves, as far as it is consistent with the Circumstances of the times and places we live in.

Want of experience made Mr La Pierre and Gignillat our two French Ministers a little uneasy to their P[ar]ishioners in the beginning, but they were soon set streight and are now in very good terms with their People.

Mr Atkins Williamson has lived here under the Notion and Character of a Minister 29. Years, but the Inhabitants have not thought fit to take up with him as a settled Minister in any part of this Province during that time. He has no Letters or Orders of any kind to produce, and the Accot he gives of their loss is so weak & slender that it can't be relied on. Besides he might in 8. Years time, for 'tis so long he says since he lost them, have had fresh ones from the Registers of those Dioceses wherein he was Ordained; and therefore his not getting them makes me suspect his Mission. He says Primate Margetson of Ireland Ordain'd him Deacon when ABp of Dublin, & Bp Barlow of Lincoln Ordain'd him Priest; you will easily know this by consulting the Register of Lincoln, and when you have reced his answer, be pleased to Communicate it to me with the first opportunity.

One of the inclosed Papers is a Letter of Sr John Chardins to Mrs L'Escot the French Minister I formerly mention'd; You will see by it that a Legacy of 30£ was left to her daughter, which was to revert to the Mother in case of the Daughters death. The Daughter is still alive, and the ffather and Mother think it their undoubted right to have this Money and the Interest of it hitherto, because it may be well supposed that they will turn it to better advantage for the Childs use. 'Tis no want that makes them insist on demanding this Money, for they are very well to pass to my certain knowledge, but the desire of improving it for their daughters sake. And because Sr John Chardin shou'd have no pretence of refusing to pay this Money to their Orders in London, they Offer'd him security in the City; that the Intention of the Will as to that Legacy, shou'd be complied with and fulfill'd in all respects; and that he shou'd be never farther molested about it: But notwithstanding this fair Offer (for 'tis not worth Mr L'Escot or his wife's while to go for London to adjust and settle this matter in person, tho' it were double that Sum) Sr John absolutely refuses

to part with this money. And Mr L'Escot hopes that Sr. John Chardin being a Member of the Venble Society, may be prevail'd upon to do him justice on this occasion, who for the reasons I have formerly given, well deserves, any good Office of this kind that the Venble Society can do for him. And now that I speak of Mr L'Escot, if you have occasion to write to him, it must be either in Latin or French, for he understands not English.

Mr Taylour is at present the Presbyterian Minister in this place. He is a person of a very peaceable temper, and greatly abhors and disapproves of that restless and factious Spirit those of his Party are possessed with: He greatly condemns two Country preachers of the same Stamp, who on all occasions foment and stir up the people to faction and Sedition. Their names are Mr Stobo and Mr Pollock; both of them fierce men in their way; and Mr Taylour says that place can never be easy or quiet, where there is a Scotch Presbyterian Minister. One of them, Mr Pollock in his Sermon call'd the Church of England a Scandalous Church; and Mr Taylour thinks and so do I too, that the Presbyterian Ministers in London ought to be acquainted with the Behaviour of these Men, and that they do henceforward assert their right of sending English Ministers to this Province, as often as there shall be occasion, it being an English Colony originally before the Union Act, and it being unreasonable to subject the Presbyterians Interest and Cause in this Province to the Presbyterian Government in Scotland, which is the thing the Scotch Dissenting Ministers here are driving at, with all their might and main, as is plain by the second Proposal or request in Mr Stobo's Pamphlet, which I send inclosed to you. The other two Dissenting Ministers, that are in this Province are Mr Lord, a quiet Man as I hear, and an Independant; and Mr Scriven an Anabaptist, who is lately removed from this Town to the Northwd and is a Ship Carpenter by trade. Mr Taylour informs me, that Presbyterians about the River Ashley in Mr Woods Parish have sent for a Teacher; and Mr Livingstone who was here, before Mr Taylour, and is lately gone for Great Britain or Ireland will return in a little time, so that we shall have 7. in all. Mr Pollock as I have been credibly inform'd, has made some, that came to hear him, who were formerly pretended Churchmen, to sign a paper, by which they bound themselves never to return to the Communion of the Church of England. This, if true, as I verily believe it is, hav-

ing it from very good hands, is a Strange way of proceeding, and ought in my humble opinion, to be resented by the Venble Society. Col. Tynte our late Govr said he wou'd write to his Grace the Abp of Canterbury about these Men; but whether he did or not, this Account, I hope, will not be unacceptable to you.

The Interest the Venble Society may make here, wou'd not be inconsiderable, wou'd they but interpose concerning Church Affairs oftener than they do, and Charge their Missionaries to be diligent in their respective Parishes, in influencing such as have any Share in the Management of Publick Affairs. Many things are wrong in the Library Act, and more in that of the Church; as for instance; no Minister can be elected by the Parishioners of any Vacant Parish, tho' never so regularly sent or well recommended by [but] by an Ordr from the Comrs 21 in Number, or 11. of them at least directed to the Parishioners which is a kind of Conge d'Eslire, and is perfectly ridiculous and insignificant to that purpose, for which 'tis pretended to be made; that is to say; to keep out bad Ministers: To which the Answer is plain and undeniable; That these Church Comrs cannot de jure, nor have they de facto denied to give an Order to any Clergyman that applied to them for it; they have no power by the Act to deny it, and supposing they had, yet he is a miserable and sad Wretch indeed that cannot conceal his Vices, till he got this Conge or Order, and till he were Elected. And after all this, the true power of Electing or rejecting lies in the Parishioners; which power, I confess has never gone well down with me, nor shall I ever be reconciled to it. My reasons for it are these, 1st because the Pishioners are not proper Judges in this matter; generally speaking. 2dly Because it may happen, that they may reject those, whom, even at their own request, the Bp of London, or the Venble Society may send to them, and out of a popular whim take up with any Strouler that may come in their way; and by this means the Crown loses it's Bounty Money, the Venble Society Wasts its ffund to no purpose, if the person rejected be directly their Missionary, the Episcopal Authority and right is vilified and trampled under foot: the Venerable Society is Slighted and disregarded, and put to an unnecessary Charge and trouble; the person who is thus sent, is exposed to many hazards and difficultys, if not to certain ruin: and the whole proceEDURE, with reference to this part of the Church Act, is so odd and so unlike the

English Constitution, that insted of encouraging good Clergymen to transport themselves hither, it wou'd be one of the greatest discouragements in the World to them. I have to my Cost felt the evil Consequences of this Act, by the ill usage I met with, mention'd in the former part of this Letter; But there is a third inconvenience yet behind; which must not be forgotten, and which Mr Hasell and Mr Gignillat, as well as I, have suffered. The Act directs that a Majority or Quorum of Eleven, must Sign an Order for leave for the parishioners to Elect. These Comrs live scatter'd up and down the province nor dos the poor Missionary know, who perhaps has not one penny in his Pocket, how to get to them, or send to them, without a great deal of expence and trouble; and after he has gone or sent to them, they may Choose whether they will Assemble or not; there being no Penalty in the Act to Oblige them to meet. Thus 2. 3. or 4. Months may be Elapsed before the Missionary can get them together: In the mean time he must live upon himself; and is not entitled to one farthing of his Salary till the formality of his Election be over. After his Election, he has not the power to choose his own Clark, nor has he any Share in the Choice of a Church Warden, more than any other Common Parishioner. In the holding of Vestrys he is no more consider'd than any other Vestryman; nor has he a Negative, altho' the thing to be transacted be never so contrary to his Judgment and the Common Practice in S. Britain.

These and poverty and diseases, and a Whimmish and Stubborn people are the encouragements a Missionary has, according to this Act, to come hither thro' so many dangers and difficulties; and when he is Elected there is not the least prospect for him beyond his present State, for he is at the height of his prefermt The Salary and the Subscriptions indeed make a great shew at a distance, and the Country is magnified to an uncommon degree; a hundd or 200£ P. Ann Salary, and Pquisites besides sounds great; and then the hope of Subscriptions, the goodness of the Climate, the fertility of the Soil, the plenty of all things necessary for the life of Man. the Peaches, the Apricots, the Nectarines, with the Super-abundance of which they feed their Swine; their Grapes, their Pears, Plums, Cherries &c the Variety of their Animals, and the vast deal of fine wood they have, fit for all manner of Work, make a Strange impression upon the ffancy of a Missionary when he is at London,

either reading those Books which give an Account of this province, or else informing himself by the relations of those who have been in it, or drive any trade to it. The same fine appearance dos Charles Town make in the Maps, who tho' as to the dimensions, Scituation, and ffortifications of it is rightly set out; yet many of those fine and regular Buildings which are represented in it, are not to be met with when we come upon the Spot to look for them; and we find our Selves more deceived & disappointed in the other particulars, than we do in this. July 14th 1710 I had something more to say on this and the Library Act, but have not time, the Ship by which this goes being just ready to Sail. But I hope what I have said is enough to shew the inconveniences of this Act. And the way to get these Acts rectified, is by the Venble Societys signifying their pleasure to the Government and me; and then I doubt not, but with my Brethren's assistance, I shou'd be able to procure a New Act.

I have sent you two Original Excommunications of Mr Marston's own hand writing to confirm what I have said concerning; which after Perusal, I humbly pray may be transmitted to the Bp of London. I had something to say of the Negroes here, but cannot now; having scarce time to recommend my Eldest Son, whom I send to London, in hopes the Venble Society may do something for him and take care of him. Capt. Cole the Bearer will explain my mind more fully about him, to whom I refer you.—What I wrote about a Naturalizing Act to my Lord of Sarum, was, before we had an Account here of the late Act of Naturalization past in Great Britain. This provides for and encourages all fforeigners to plant and settle themselves in that Kingdome by conferring on them all the Priviledges of Naturally born Subjects. But whether this Comprehends the Brittish born in Ireland is the Question, and it seems to me it dos not. If it dos not, the Venble Society will, I hope, procure this advantage for those Missionaries and their Children, for their further encouragemt by Act of Parliament who have the disadvantage of being born in Ireland. This Sr is what I have to say on this Subject, tho' when I wrote to my Lord of Sarum, I meant fFrench and all other fforeigners as well as Irish. I have sent you some other Papers besides those I have already Named, but have not time to enlarge upon them; however you may easily guess upon what occasions and Inducements they were written. The Town is still in that fferment & Hurry after the late disturbances,

that I cou'd not get a Copy of the Church & School Acts, and of the Jurisdiction Bill to send to you ; but by the next opportunity, you shall have them. I humbly pray my most humble duty may be presented to the Most Revd President and my profound respects to the rest of the Members of the Venble Society ; and do me the favour to believe, that I am with all due regard

Honord Sir

Your most humb. Servt

Gideon Johnston

I have made my Apology for the length of this letter already : & I hope you will excuse the badness of this Scrawl, being very weak & that of the paper likewise, being not able to get better.

P.S.

I had two Original Excommunications this day in my hands of Mr Marston but that against Mr Trot was return'd back to him, as you may see by his Note to me, wherein also he gives his Reason why he will not let me have the Original or the Copy of that Agst Col. Gibbs. What I wou'd have done with my Son, is to give him some Schooling for the present; and in my next, beside what I have told Capt. Cole I will express my mind more fully about him. In the meantime give me leave to acquaint you that the Bearer, Honest Capt. Cole who transported me to Carolina, has been ever since my Acquaintance with him, a Constant Benefactor to me, furnishing me frequently with European Provisions, and particularly with British Liquors, which to me is the most acceptable present under my present Circumstances: for Madera Wine, Punch, & Sangar as they call it is what I have a perfect aversion to; and the Water about the Town is so Brackish, that it is scarcely potable unless mixed with other Liquors. Capt Cole has promised me he will entertain my Son at his own house free Cost, if the Venble Society will not do any thing for him, and that he Will bring him back to me on the same Account, on which he carrys him now home, that is to say, all gratis. This indeed is a great kindness, and for which together with his other favours to me, I most humbly pray for the Venble Societys thanks to him.

I wish the Venble Society wou'd be pleased to send me some of

Wares ffoxes & ffirebrands; to be distributed where there was occasion also Dr Stern's little Book de Visitatione Infirmorum which wou'd be of considerable use to the Missionaries here. I cannot tell, whether it has been printed in London, it being Originally written and Published in Ireland by Dr Sterne the present Dean of St Patrick's Dublin.

Madam Rhet has been just now with me, and sends Bills for 30£ to buy a handsome Set of Church Plate of the neatest ffashion, as far as that Sum will go; she desired me to remit these Bills to some ffriend of mine to be disposed of for this use: And in answer to this I directed her to write to you, and to Commit the Management of this Affair intirely to your Care and Conduct; which I believe she has done.³

IV

In this able letter, the Commissary continues his report on his campaign to set up the Church of England in South Carolina as it was in "South Britain."¹ He therefore throws much light on the religious temper of the people as well as on the strategy and tactics of his assault upon the Dissenters. The contrast with things as they are "at home" in England is so sharp that the reader sees the English scene.

Johnston's phrase, "this dangerous and difficult Warfare" is descriptive of what he considers his assignment to be. Ready co-operation comes from the French Huguenots, who give him the least trouble, who attend him when ill, and who promise him not to replace their own ministers when the incumbents die. This adaptation of these French Calvinists is an early hint of their firm Americanization. It is true, of course, that the French Huguenots have survived in South Carolina with their Church until today. It is interesting that they united with the Anglicans, rather than with the Presbyterians, for reasons which are not wholly clear. Johnston, of course, was unremitting in his cultivation of the French element.

The Commissary's two major problems were with the Dissenters and his own Anglicans. Johnston's skirmishes with both these

³ Gideon Johnston to the Secretary, Charles Town, S. Carolina, July 5, 1710, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 5, CLVIII, pp. 371-430.

¹ England and Wales.

groups are of the utmost seriousness to him, and the amusement is for the reader more than two centuries later. As for the Presbyterians, he fights them in the Assembly, wins Taylor for the Anglican Church, courts other ministers and "topping" Dissenters, visits the chief leaders, no matter if they do not return his visits or if the ratio is six to one. In great detail he regrets the loss of one of his flock, Flavel, who, carried off to a Presbyterian home for nursing in a grave illness, there embraces the Presbyterian faith. His absolutely sincere statements that he has not given any ground for complaints of his activities are both touching and amusing. Nothing can loosen his grip on his duty as he sees it, yet he suffers painfully from resistance to his efforts to exterminate the Dissenters.

Johnston's observation is as keen as his determination. His measure of the people's temper is expressed in memorable words: "Rome was not built in a day; and I find by experience, the Generality of our Legislators here love to do things, not just when they are put in Mind on them, nor after that manner that is suggested to them, but in their own time and way; so that what they will not do today, tho' the thing be never so reasonable and tho' they be never so much importun'd to it, tomorrow they will freely fall into and do of themselves." Again, the expression "American ground" reveals his knowledge of the things that are alien to the home mood and place of the Church. The congregation may choose or reject a minister, after application for one, upon his arrival on the scene and after the expenses of the journey. Laws and customs concerning marriage fees, burial moneys, licenses, are different from the usage of the mother country, or being on a voluntary basis, do not exist as a right.

Even the S.P.G. clergy do not choose to meet with him and he asks for disciplinary measures from his superiors to preserve unity.² For the time being, he has to abandon the former four meetings a year. The incident of a congregation "running out" on a clergyman they do not like appalled him. This lack of respect for an office as distinct from the man in it was not only new to him but alarming. Marston had made use of the popular dislike of caste in spreading about the phrases "Irish rapparee, Scotch-Irish Lylli-

² A letter of May 2, 1712, signed by five Carolina clergymen, and addressed to the Bishop of London, has a tone of submission, as if in reply to admonitions to be coöperative and peaceful. See Fulham Place MSS (L.C. Trans.), South Carolina, No. 236.

bolaro, Schismatick" in reference to Johnston.³ Again Johnston was "bespattered" as a covetous person and a "high fflyer" and Taylor was said to be "swallowing Popery and the Devil." The Commissary's answer was a vigorous offensive in which he asked for a curate, the £100 usually given by the queen to commissaries in royal colonies, and a share in the prize money from £3,000 worth of cacao just brought into Charleston. As there was "no Law for the Ministers ffees, tho' the ffees of all others, even of the Clerk, Sexton, & Register, are ascertain'd and made payable by a particular Act, so there is no asking for them nor insisting on them for fear of breeding ill blood; and consequently not one in five (I speak modestly) pay for Buryals, or Churching of Women; and even in the Marrying of People, where there is the greatest hopes & dependance, many of them give nothing at all." In addition, Johnston does not like the domination of the lay commissioners, who are remiss in their provisions for the building and upkeep of the churches and the ministers' houses.

Contrary to the eighteenth-century custom of many ministers, the Commissary did not keep a diary or duplicates of his letters or even notes for them. He gives lengthy reasons for this omission and it is apparent that his letters continued over a space of days or even weeks, and are a running diary of his experiences. His contemporaries, William Byrd among laymen, and a little later, Henry Melchior Mühlenberg among the clergy, are noted for the production of diaries of great length.

In this letter, as in others, the importance of the governor is recognized by all the church parties, Anglican and Dissenting. Much influence is brought to bear upon the authorities at home before the choice of a governor. The Commissary is much concerned with politics, and the support of the governor is a cardinal point toward the establishment of the Anglican Church. Normally, the governor would be an Anglican.

Communications between the Colony and London often depend upon the captains of ships who not only carry letters and messages, but act as agents in various negotiations and matters of

³ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "Lillibullero" was part of the refrain of a song ridiculing the Irish, popular about 1688. "Rapparee," was an Irish bandit, robber, or freebooter; an Irish vulture. The term, "Schismatick," as here used is not defined beyond meaning that Johnston is not in full conformity with the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England.

business. An official postal system, although in existence then, was entirely inadequate as a major means of communication until the nineteenth century when it was built by Rowland Hill.

Comry. Johnston to the Secry

27th Janry 17¹⁰/₁₁

Hond. Sir./

Since I wrote my last, I find I had forgotten to tell you, at least I fear it, that the Assembly has added by a Clause in one of their Acts 50£ to my Salary during my Incumbency. This I knew nothing of, till after Captain Cole's departure; for tho' the Act was passed sometime before Col. Tynte dyed, yet things were in so great Confusion & disorder when I wrote that nobody knew what was done; the Contests and troubles that happened about the Government taking up all Men's thoughts at that time. This addition to my Salary is so much the more acceptable to me, because it was made when I least expected it; Nor did I ever make any Public Application to the Assembly for any thing of this kind, being unwilling to run the hazard of a Denyal, & know the Country to be greatly in debt. I did indeed tell some Members, who were my Parishioners, that it was morally impossible for me to continue much longer in that Parish: that my debts still increas'd insted of decreasing: and that before things came to an extremity, I was resolv'd when I had obtain'd my Diocesan's, and the Venerable Society's leave, to remove into another Parish, which wou'd pay my debts and make me easy among 'em. And that I doubted not but the Venble Society wou'd be so kind to me, as they were to the other Missionaries of this province. This was the Substance of what I said to them: but the answer still was the Country was very poor and in debt: and that the Governr (who expected great matters from them) wou'd resent it, sho'd the Assembly give any thing to me and do nothing for him at the same time. But the thing which I fancy chiefly induced the Assembly to make this Addition to my Salary so unexpectedly, and so much contrary to my expectation, was, the pains and care I took in endeavouring to promote and continue a good Correspondence between the Govr and the Assembly. I well knew the State of Religion must needs suffer, whilst these disputes and Controversies lasted between Churchmen; and therefore I left no stone unturn'd in a Modest and peacable way to put

an end to these differences. This I believe, together with the necessity of the thing itself, induced the Govr and Assembly to Concur so suddenly and unexpectedly in this thing; wch tho' it does not put an end to my wants. yet it is certain it greatly lessens them; and is a sufficient Argument, that my Complaints hitherto have not been vain or ill grounded, and that I am not ill thought of, by the Body of the People.

You may be pleased to remember, that in my last Letter, (if I mistake not) I said, not only an Addition to my Salary, but also a retrospect into my past Circumstances with relation to my debts, was absolutely necessary. It will from hence [be] easy for the Venble Society to compare things, and to make just Estimate of what is proper to be done for me; but if I am not worthy to be believed or Assisted by the Venerable Society in proportion with the rest of my Brethren here, I must sit down in sorrow and lament my hard ffate, and want of merit to entitle me to their favour and Compassion. But the kind Step which the Venble Society has made, by a Present of 20£ Sterling which you mention in Your Letter to me of the 24th of July last, has greatly lessened my fears and cares in this respect; being from this Earnest and token fully assured of their future care and concern for me.

The Perquisites of my Parish, since my last, has been greater than usual, & has been about 15£ extraordinary in my way, because of the great Mortality that has been among us. And my Circumstances wou'd be much easier did People Punctually pay me, as they ought. But as there is no Law for the Ministers ffees, tho' the ffees of all others, even of the Clerk, Sexton, & Register, are ascertain'd and made payable by a particular Act, so there is no asking for them, nor insisting on them for fear of breeding ill blood; and consequently not one in five (I speak modestly) pay for Buryals, or Churching of Women; and even in the Marrying of People, where there is the greatest hopes & dependance, many of them give nothing at all.

From this Account I have given you of the true Circumstances of my Affairs at this time, the Venble Society will be able to Judge what is still left for me to do, in order to make me easy as to my domestick Affairs and more usefull and serviceable to them. And tho' it is from hence plain, that my Necessity's are in some measures Abated, yet, my Poor Wife's continual want of health obliging her

to return home for some time manifestly obstructs & prevents any present benefit I can reap from these Advantages; because what I gain one way, I lose that and more in another. 'Tis not in my power to prevent a Misfortune of this kind; but I trust in God it will be over in a little time, and that insted of being burdensome to the Society, I may in a few Years hereafter (if it please God to spare me life and health) be able to cast in a Mite now & then, towards the Propagation of the Gospel in this part of the World; nothing can stand in the way of these good Intentions of mine but my Children; and being well Assured, that I shall not want the Venble Society's Assistance, in putting them into an honest way of getting bread, I shall have the less occasion to be uneasy or troubled on their Accot. Next to the want of health in my family, there is nothing that is a more sensible trouble to me, as to the things of this World, than my debts; It is in ye Course and Progress of my Mission that I have Contracted them; not by any mismanagement or ill Conduct on my side; but thro' the many delays, disappointments and misfortunes I have met with: where there are directly eight mouths to be continually fed, and backs to be Cloathed, besides Servants and other Contingent & unavoidable expences in a place of such Concourse, and where all things are excessivly, & almost beyond imagination, dear; and where the Money, which are Mint Bills, is of very little value; the Venble Society will upon the least reflection see that things must necessarily be very hard wth me; and that 100£ Carolina Money, with 50£ Sterling in London is as good at least as my 200£ here; not to say anything of the expensiveness of this place. the Metropolis and Epitome of the whole Province and of the vast difference between 11. Mouths, & 2 or 3 or 4 or 8 which yet is the utmost Number that the other Missionarys have to maintain. When I make this Comparison, assure Yourself, I do it not out of envy or ill Will; Those that have most have but little enough, God knows, to live upon; nor are some of them without their Share of misfortunes, as well as others. Honest Mr Maule, (a truly good Man) lost all he had by fire; and poor Dr Le Jau, is almost as little even with the World as I am: All that I aim at in this, is, to shew that I am as great an Object of the Venble Society's Compassion as any other Missionary, and that setting aside a personal merit, which I by no means pretend to, I have an undoubted right to their Care and favour. If Pompous

and Swelling Testimonials, and Letters of recommendation from the Assembly, or from my Parishioners, were necessary, or of any moment with so great and wise a Body, as the V. Society is, these might be long ago had; but If I am not Worthy to be believed or trusted on the Credit of my own single Testimony, it is not fit I shou'd continue longer where I am, because I may as well be thought to deceive the Society in other more weighty & important Affairs, as I may do in this: and consequently I may do an irreparable dammage in the business of Religion to the Souls of Men, by concealing disguising or Mincing the Truth, in order to procure myself a good Name, as well as by a false Representation of my Circumstances, cheat them of their Money. But I utterly abhor and detest the very thoughts of such base & Scandalous practices; and shou'd the V. Society put it intirely in my own power to take what I pleased, this very thing, insted of making me abuse their favour, wou'd make me Contract my expences, and endeavour to help them as soon as I cou'd, rather than be a burden to them. 'Tis true I wou'd return home & live upon bread and Water, if it were the Will of My Superiours, than live here in the greatest plenty with want of health: but as I am not to choose for myself, but in cases of the last extremity, so I will patiently wait for their leave, till they think fit to call me away and relive me. My want of health loudly calls for a little respite at least, if not for a total Manumission from this dangerous and difficult Warfare; for I am still forced to write with both hands, which shows the weakness of my Body, not to say anything of the ffevers and Spasms I am continually subject to; I am fully perswaded I shall never be a Sound Man till I get to the Bath, and till good Brittish Phisicians, air and diet restore me to health; and what makes my Condition still more hopeless, is the death of that good Man Dr Thomas, my Wife being the last pson he Ministred to, tho' he was himself very ill at the same time. But let me live or dye, I am resolved not to stir from hence, till I have one to supply my Place, and leave from my Superiours to go off, unless something extraordinary befalls me. However were I ever so healthfull, an Assistant is absolutely necessary to me; and I think I have given so many reasons for this in my last Letter, that it will be perfectly needless to say more about it.

There are several ways by which the Venble Society may be freed from any further charge or trouble about me; I will barely

mention some of them, without saying anything of the feasibility of them, it being the V. Society's business to Judge of their fitness and expediency. Every Commissary Abroad, in any of the Queen's Governments, has, if I am rightly Inform'd 100£ P. Ann. from the Queen, which I suppose is given for two reasons; 1st to enable the Comry to live comfortably and to be able to discharge that Post wth Advantage; for he that bears that Character, must unavoidably be exposed to more business and application, and consequently to more expences than any private Missionary can be; And in the 2d place, this Salary, thus given him by the Queen may well be looked upon as a kind of Compensation or Equivalent, for the Perquisites of his place, which now is possessed and received by each Governr supposing then this to be the Cast of the Queen's Governments; the Question is, whether the Lords Proprietors of Carolina ought not, and at the request of the Venble Society, wou'd not, make the same Allowance, and grant the same Priviledges to the Commissary of Carolina, as her Majty does to each Commissary in all her Governments in this side of the World. 'Tis very probably My Lord of London wou'd be willing enough to concur in this Affair: but then it is also certain, that the Application of so considerable à Body of Men as the V. Society consists of, wou'd go a vast way towards the gaining this Point.

Another way wou'd be, to apply to the Lords Proprietors to grant me the Probats of Wills, Administrations and Lycences, in their own right; without having any respect to me, as the Bishop of Londons Commissary; for these things are not inseparably annex to the Government of this place; the Probats of Wills and the granting Letters of Administration, being actually given to one Mr Turberville (now dead) in the late Govrs time; but if neither of these ways seem proper or feasible; some way may be thought on to procure me some small *Sine-Cure* at home, by any of which means I shou'd soon be able to get over all my difficulty's, if it pleased God to Spare my life, & to be an Assistant rather than a burden for the future of the Venble. Society. I know I have said enough on this unhappy subject already, and it is sore against my Will that I say anything of it in this Letter; but let my necessity be my excuse, for believe me Sir, nothing less than this cou'd force me to a thing to which I have naturally so great an Aversion. I do not in the least doubt but the Venble Society is always intent upon

ways and means of encouraging Missionarys and making them easy in every respect, and tho' the purchasing the Advowsons or right of Presentations to Benefices at home in order to reward those who Serve in the Plantations, for any while, and behave themselves well, is the best way that can be thought of for this purpose; yet were their Lops the Bishops in S. Brittain and Ireland, and the Lord Chancelour in both Kingdoms by her Majtys Special Command and direction, prevail'd upon to consider the Missionarys, when any small but sufficient Benefice fell into their gift, and that a Law also were made, that no Lapses shou'd be incur'd or Advantages taken on any side, upon the Presentation of a Missionary, till he signified his Acceptance or refusal of any such Benefice, either by Letter or in Person; this wou'd be a great point gained, and a great Advantage to the Venble Society in carrying on and perfecting those good Designs, which are on foot for the Missionary's benefit. 'Tis possible many of the Bps in either Kingdome, wou'd of themselves and out of a private concern & respect for some of the Missionarys, willingly provide for them at home, when they had an opportunity; but that there lyes a kind of impossibility and unsurmountable difficulty in their way with respect to Institution, Induction, taking the Oaths, & reading the Assent and Consent, Subscriptions, Lapses, &c; and in regard it is impossible for most Missionarys to receive timely Information, and to be able to go thro' all those fformality's that by the Laws are necessary, within the usual and proper time; therefore a General Law in favour of the Missionarys with respect to the things wou'd in my humble opinion be a considerable Step made to their Advantage. But I am afraid I have trespassed too much on Your patience, as to these Matters; and therefore I hasten to other particulars.

In my last Account of the Church in this Town, I acquainted you, with its filling apace; but I am sorry I must now in some measure contradict this, my Auditory being greatly diminish'd by the death of many of my Parishioners; a List of which I herewith send you, from the 10th of April last. Nor must I on this occasion forget to inform you, that the Contests about the Government, and the Struggles about Electing Members for a New Assembly, has occasion'd most of the Dissenters who came to Church to forsake us; some come to us now and then, and their resentments

begin to Abate, finding their Govr so perfectly useless and insignificant to them; But things will never be settled to any tollerable degree, till we have a New Governour, which we now hourly expect and pray God he may be a good one. Never was there a pack of more unreasonable Dissenters than we have here; and they are so strangely wild, and Malicious, as to the generality of them, that I find it the hardest matter in the World, by all the honest Arts and innocent Condescentions, and frequent visits I can (which are seldom or never return'd) to begin or Continue a friendly Correspondence with them; Nevertheless whether they will or not I make a hard shift to keep fair with most of them here; altho' I well know many of them hate me, because I do upon all occasions make up those breaches as much as in my [*sic*] lyes, that happen between our own People; and above all things I take particular Care to prevent all reptures and discontents between us and the ffrench, that the dissenters may not have an opportunity of working upon our Distempers, or making an Advantage of our Divisions to the prejudice of either Church or State. To this purpose I endeavour to prevent all Law Suits and Disputes about Meum & Tuum, by proposing Arbitrations, and making use of other arguments as much as I can towards a friendly Accommodation of things; by which means I sometimes put a stop to those feuds and Animositys which might otherwise disturb the Public Tranquility and Peace; and where the Success dos not answer either my expectations or pains, yet I sit down contented in having done my duty. The Dissenters never labour'd so hard for an Election of Assembly Men, as they did this time; nor had they ever a better opportunity, having a Govr with all the Interest he cou'd make at the head of them; But the Churchmen carry'd it by so great a Majority, that I was amazed to consider, and at a loss to determin, whether the Authour of the Case of the Dissenters in this Province was more false or more Impudent, in saying, as Mr. Boone and the other troublers of our Peace have set forth in their Petitions and Representacons at home, that the Dissenters make up two thirds of our inhabitants; Whereas upon the Election, it appear'd that the Greatest Number of Votes any of the Dissenters List hadd, amounted to no more than 116, as I can remember; whereas the highest Vote on the other side came to 460 odd. It was a Churchman that had the 116 Votes in the Dissenters List, and several

Churchmen, whose business and Interest lay chiefly that way, were in that Number, but all the rest fell greatly short; whereas I remember not one in the Church List that had less than 300. or very near it; and by this a reasonable Calculation may be made of their many other unreasonable complaints & Suggestions.

In my last I imparted to you my thoughts, concerning the shortest way wth the Dissenters,⁴ to which I have nothing new to add, more than that the Presbyterian Ministers, in spite of all my endeavours to the contrary, keep at a mighty distance from me, and cannot be prevaild upon by visits, and other friendly Methods, as Invitations to my house, and offers of serving them in any thing that lyes in my power either to Correspond or Converse freely with me. Mr. Levingston our Minister in this Place is return'd to us, but for my life I cannot fix him any more than the rest, who are much more wild and feirce than he seems to be; but I have some reason to apprehend, that it is the fear of disobliging his Congregation that forces him to this unusual reservedness; and it must be owned, that the least Suspicion of his being well Affected to our Church or its Ministers might be a Means of lessening both his Sallary and his Reputation among them. This is what Mr. Taylour has formerly intimated to me; and where a Mans bread is precarious and depends upon the voluntary Subscriptions of the People, he cannot be too Cautious in avoiding such things, as wou'd give the least Offence. I think I have gain'd Mr. Taylour to our Church who is a truly good Man; but being sure of nothing in this World but that I shall dye, I will say nothing more of him, till he has the honour of waiting on you in London, & has qualifed himself by Ordination for the Venerable Society's favour. Many difficulty's will occur in my way, as to the sending him home, but nothing is invincible to the grace of God and a patient and willing mind.

If I have not more Success in the Course of my Ministry, impute it not to my want of Care & Concern, but to want of Ability. I freely and ingenuously own myself the weakest of my Brethren, nevertheless having greater opportunitys than they, God Almighty may, when he sees it fit, bless my honest endeavours sometimes, and manifest his power in my weakness.

⁴ Doubtless a reference, and in the exact words, to Defoe's famous tract, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702), in which the author, himself a Dissenter, ironically demanded the suppression of all dissent at any cost. For this plea for toleration, Defoe was fined, imprisoned (May to November, 1703), and pilloried.

But were I the most able and willing Man, that ever set foot on American ground, yet I cannot do the Duty of a Minister, much less of a Commissary, as well as I ought, without a Curate; whereas had I an honest Man that I cou'd depend upon, and that was not too Opinionative or self Conceited to take mine or my Brethrens advice, as occasion offer'd or required, I shou'd then be able to give a better Accot of things, than it is possible for me now to do, under so many disadvantages. No Dissenter whatsoever in my Parish, shou'd escape my acquaintance and Conversation with him, nor shou'd private addresses and Remonstrances be wanting to set my own people or others streight, as to any ill opinion, or Scandalous Practice they may be engaged in. I wou'd visit the Neighboring Parishes, and with as little Noise as is possible, inform myself concerning their several Circumstances and do all that I cou'd to Assist my Brethren, in the discharge of their duty. Where Ministers were wanting I wou'd in conjunction with my Brethren, supply those vacant Parishes till they had gotten Ministrs of their own, and I wou'd attempt to bring back the Topping Dissenters and their Teachers to our Church; I wou'd baptize their Children visit their Sick, and bury their dead, and do all the other Contingent dutys that come in my way to keep the Church Men together and to prevent their being Seduced when they wanted a Minister of their own to watch over them & defend them. I wou'd use my best endeavours to Influence those of [my] own Communion, to Concur with My Lord Bishop of London & the Venble Society as often as they were chosen Assembly Men, in such a Settlement of the Church, & Regulation of Ecclesiastical Discipline, as shou'd be Conformable to that great Pattern the Church of England at home; All these things I wou'd aim at, and endeavour to carry on in a gentle and peaceful way; and wou'd be always carefull not to carry things farther than they wou'd bear; as being well assured, that the best and most hopefull Cause might be ruin'd by an Indiscreet and ill temper'd Zeal; and it is certain I lie more in the way of these things than any of my Brethren; but without a Curate the utmost I can do were I never so able or healthfull, is not enough to answer the Necessity's of my own Parish, much less can I give any great Account of the State of Religion in other Parts of the Province, altho' I have been very far from being unmindfull of them, as shall anon appear, after I have disengaged myself from the Affairs of my own Parish. To return therefore

If the Dissenters have forsaken my Church I am neither ashamed nor concerned at it, because they were Occasional hearers only, and because I never gave them Cause to forsake it. The late Disputes and Contests about the Government; created a great deal of ill blood and coldness between the Churchmen and the Dissenters, but as I observed just now the resentmts on both sides begin to abate and they now and then drop into our Church; and time and a change of Government will contribute more to the healing our Wounds and Closing up our breaches, then all the Arguments in the World; I thank God I have never hitherto lost any of my People, as I hope I never shall, but have rather added to them; especially to the Number of our Communicants. These as I remarked in my Letter by Capt. Cole are the only Members of a Church that can be reckon'd or depended upon. The receiving the Communion among us is the best and surest Test of a true Churchman; and one that does this frequently and Conscientiously, is much more valuable, than a far greater Number of those who come only out of humour or curiosity to our Churches. There is no Article I have oftner or with greater vehemence pressed in my Sermons than the Necessity of Communicating frequently; and finding that my Addresses this way did not altogether produce the desired effect, I did by private application when I visited the Sick especially press home this point, and I thank God with a great deal of Success; Many of those that were prevailed upon to resolve on receiving, died before they cou'd do it; and others died after they had recd it. Many are still sick that have recd. and have promis'd Solemnly to be Constant Communicats for the future; and tho' as I have said, the Number of My Parishioners has been considerably lessen'd by death; yet were they all well, that are alive, the Number of Communicants wou'd be greater than formerly. I look upon the Visitation of the Sick to be a duty of the last Consequence to the Souls of Men, and it is upon the bed of Sickness if ever that a Minister has the greatest opportunity of doing good. I thank God, the pains I take this way is not ineffectual; and the readiness I express in going to the Sick, tho' not sent for, when I myself am often very weak and sickly, gives no small reputation to my Addresses.—My Labours this way are not solely confined to those of my own Parish, having night and day, as often as I have been called upon, Ministred to the Necessitys of the Neighbouring vacant

Parishes. I have laid this down as a certain Rule to myself that I ought not to refuse to any Place or Person that wants me, because I am weak and out of Order, or may Catch Cold or the like for the health & Strength tho' little it be, which God is pleas'd to Spare me, ought to be employed in the discharge of my duty; and I doubt not but he will grant me more, when he sees it convenient for me. But notwithstanding all my care this way, some have dyed before I knew they were sick; but this being thro' no neglect of Mine, I have nothing I bless God, to Charge myself with on their Account. It is morally impossible for me to know when People are sick, as I have told them from the Pulpit, unless it be by hearsay, or by a direct Message from themselves; and therefore I advised 'em to follow St. James's direction 5.14. being the words of my Text, and to send for their Minister without delay; and [not] to trust even for a moment to the second hand Informations and Messages of others *By this Procedure*, said I you will leave your Minister inexcusable and self Condemned if he does not his duty on all occasions of this kind; and you have as far as in you lies. complied with the Text. and deliver'd Your own Souls, as to any neglect that may be Charged on you, for your not sending for the Elder of Your Church. And the day or hour, that I am not willing to do my duty. May my Tongue Cleave to the roof of my Mouth, and may my right hand forget its Cunning. This I mention not out of Pride or Vanity, but to shew you that I have not been wanting to put the People in mind of their Duty in the time of Sicknes; and how inexcusable I shou'd be; shou'd I not do my part on the other hand. I solemnly bound myself by this publick Declaration, to a Strict performance of my duty; and the reason why I did it, was, partly because I wou'd have my Parishioners inexcusable, but Chiefly and Principally, because I wou'd at one Stroke cut off all Pretences and Occasions for Subterfuge from my self. It is no pleasing task to flesh & blood, to be Ministring to Sick or dying Persons, & to be exposed to all the filth & Nauseous Smells & Ghostly Sight. that one must endure on such occasions; and therefore to prevent any ill impression these may make on me with respect to my duty, and to Suppress and Extinguish, as much as I cou'd, any aversion I might have to these things; I put it once for all, absolutely out of my power, to hearken to any Suggestion whatsoever; that might at any time seduce or Corrupt me, by this Solemn declaration from the pulpit.

As to the Number of Communicants it will be easy for you from the inclosed List to know them; and tho' the continual change of Inhabitants, in a place of such Concourse & Mortality, as this is, must make it difficult to procure a true and exact Account of them, yet I am well Assured, this I send you is, if not perfectly exact, yet very near it.

I have also along with these Lists, sent you one of the Dissenters marked according to their different Sects, as well as I cou'd Inform myself, and as for those, who have been baptized, whether old or Young. You have an exact Account since the 10th of April last. The Register is so Confused before that time thro' my sickness and frequent Absence, and the former Clerks Negligence (whom I procured to be turn'd out for Polygamy) that I can give no certain or distinct Account of what was done in his time. However were I not streightned in point of time, having no[t] so much other Work upon my hands, I shou'd be able to draw a List of these things from the time of my Election to the 10th of April above mention'd; but if it please God to spare me health and leasure, I will try what I can do this way, if the Venble Society shall desire it. I have spared no pains in endeavouring to perswade the Communicants to give in their Names, according as the Rubrick prescribes; but cou'd never hitherto meet with a full Compliance in this point; not that they are obstinate or wilfully persist in their Omission of this Duty; but that they forget it. To remedy this inconvenience, I have Order'd the Clerk to take their Names in writing; so that you may depend upon the List that is given you of the Communicants. This Sir is what I have to say at this time concerning my own Parish, and do also send you a List of those I have Married since I came to Carolina, wch I can assure you is exact, because it it [*sic*] taken from the Lycences which I carefully keep by me. I know the V. Society required nothing of this kind from the Missionaries in the Notitia Parochialis to be sent home, but perhaps it may divert them, or give them an opportunity of making some other Remarks, wch may not be altogether un-usefull; and for this reason I send it, especially to let you know how much my perquisites may amount to this way. I have been Minister of Charles Town two Years and a half the 29th day of next March and Computing these Lycences one wth another they may be reckon'd at Twenty shillings aPeice; many give but ten shillings; and others I receive nothing from,

for instance, any one belonging to Col. Rhet, Dr Thomas, & such Persons.

As for my Transactions relating to Public Affaires so far as they concern the Church, you may perceive in my Letter by Capt Cole that I have not been idle. As concerning the Act for Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, I have sent my Diocesan the Copy of it extracted from the Records or Journals of the Assembly, as also all the other Acts that have been pass't in the late Govrs time, at my instance and Sollicitation. It is true, some of these Acts, as that about the School and Parochial Charges, as also the Church and Library Acts are defective in some things, as well as redundant in others. But Rome was not built in a day; and I find by experience, the Generality of our Legislators here love to do things, not just when they are put in Mind on them, nor after that manner that is suggested to them, but in their own time and way; so that what they will not do today, tho' ye thing be never so reasonable and tho' they be never so much importun'd to it, tomorrow they will freely fall into and do of themselves; and indeed to do them Justice, they are generally speaking, free enough (considering their present Circumstances and the Poverty of the Country) to do everything they can for the settlement of the Church and the support and encouragement of good Ministers in it. I have prayed my Diocesan to impart these Acts to You, if he thinks it convenient; and if they are not better or more to the purpose that is not my fault. Things here must be carryed on by slow Steps and gentle and easy Method, and wou'd the rest of my Brethren but heartily assist me, I shou'd if once we had a good Govr among us, be able to go a great way in procuring the Establishment of this Church, in a very near; if not full Conformity to the Church of England at home, within the Compass of a little time. But I am so very unwilling to oppose myself to the Sentiments of others or to run the least hazard of any division or misunderstanding among ourselves that no prospect of doing good, how great soever it may be shall tempt me to do the least thing that may occasion a rupture, or give the least handle or pretence to it. It is for this reason that I have of late forbore the calling my Brethren together; because when I did those that did come were not willing to concur in anything without the consent of those that were absent; not knowing what representation those that were absent might make of things in their private and separate Letters;

and besides they were dissatisfied and jealous of those who did thus frequently Absent themselves as being resolved to Act a different and separate part, and to decline for good and all these publick Meetings. We never had a full Meeting but once since I came hither; and tho' I do not think, that those who were absent, did not come out of design, but because they were sick or perhaps had not timely Notice; yet it was not in my power to prevent the jealousy of some of My Brethren in this respect; and therefore once for all, I resolved to lay these Meetings wholly aside, till I had fresh Instructions from my Diocesan and the V. Society concerning these matters. Before I came hither they constantly met 4 times a Year for their Mutual improvement and endearment to one another by a friendly conversation and Communication of thoughts, whether they had business or not they nevertheless met punctually at these Seasons as I have been very well inform'd; but since my Arrival sickness and other unhappy Accidents has broken off these Meetings; and when I most wanted their Advice and Assistance and had at the Governor's instance pray'd them to meet at several times, yet all was to no Purpose; and I have been hereby so much discouraged, that I have now entirely left it off. I know well; what the V. Society justly aims at in requiring a general Account from me of the Religious State of this Province; but it being impossible for me to do this with any Advantage, unless the Clergy meet oftner than they have done of late, or that I am enabled by the help of a Curate to go to their Parishes, the V. Society can expect nothing that is material from me. From this short hint, you may easily judge what New directions or Instructions are to be given to the Missionarys here in reference to these matter; and to the Society I most humbly leave them. In the meantime to banish all thoughts of pride from my own heart, or envy from others, I have not only Prayed my Brethren's Advice on all occasions with respect to my own Personal Conduct and failings in general terms, as a most necessary Mark of their true fraternal love and Christian Charity for me; but have also in many Instances particularly Asked for it, both by Letter and otherwise, to convince them how willing I was to take as well as give advice; and that no Man, how wise and prudent soever he may fancy himself to be is too good to need the Counsel and Assistance of the meanest or weakest Person. When you see me so willing to receive advice from my Brethren here, to be sure I shall be much

more willing to receive the V. Society's advice and Instructions on all Occasions: & I earnestly pray I may be from time to time favour'd with.

Were the vacant Parishes full, I might perhaps be better able, to give a more exact Accot of those that are near me at least, by Changing of Turns now and then; but as matters stand now, I am utterly deprived of this Advantage. Dr Le Jau is the nearest to me, but he is so exceedingly tender, that he dares not venture abroad, and I am as unwilling to give him the trouble. Were Mr. Maule nearer to me, which he has a Mind to be with the V. Society's leave, he wou'd be to me a most usefull Neighbour and Assistant; but the distance he is at from this place is so very great that there is no Asking anything of this kind from him. The V. Society can never do too much for this good Man, being a Person of a most excellent temper, and very agreeable to all sorts of People, a true Minister of, and fast friend to the Church of England, and a Strict observer of the Cannons and Ecclesiastical Discipline as far as it is possible for him to be in this place. When I say this of him, I exclude not Dr. Le Jau or the rest from this Character who are very good Men; and I wish I cou'd say the same thing of Mr Marston and Mr Maitland, but they have hitherto put it out of my power.

Many are the ill things which are laid to Mr Maitland's charge; but setting aside his rash and unpeaceable Temper they have never yet been proved against [him]. I have enquired into his Affairs as much as is possible but the most Malicious of his Enemies dare not sware any thing against him. He confessed himself to have been very indiscreet and hot in many things, and to have been carried away too great a length by his passion; and he has by this means so disgusted and disobliged his Parishioners and has so lashed & Provoked and Pointed at them in, and out of the Pulpit, that there is no possibility of reconciling them. I took a great deal of Pains to bring both Parties to Moderation; and there was a Truce concluded between 'em; which, if no New Breach or occasion of Quarrel interven'd in three Months time, was to pass into a general Amnesty & a lasting Peace. What advice I gave Mr Maitland on this occasion he best knows; but before half the time was expired, they were all to peeces, and the few friends that had formerly stuck to him, did then quite forsake him. He has been

long ill of the Belly Ack, but begins now to recover. His Congregation has not gon[e] to hear him these 12 Months past; and when I was there most of the People run out of the Church, when he began to raise the Psalm, for I read Prayers and Preached; This excess of Aversion I just reprehended in them as savouring too much of uncharitableness; nevertheless, after this I prevailed upon them to consent to the aforesaid truce. This happen'd in the Month of January 1709/10 and finding that all things went to ruin in that Parish, I took two Journeys thither in last December, and Preached there and administered the Sacrament to above 20 Communicants on the 3d day of the Xtnas Holy days; At which time, with Abundance of Perswasions I made up an Agreement among them, by which they were to give Mr. Maitland 70£ and he upon the Payment of this Sum was to resign and leave them. Great Application was made to me, to make use of the Ecclesiastical Censures against him, but having told them, that I cou'd do no more than suspend him from his Office, but not from his Benefice or Salary thro' a defect in the Church Act, and that he was effectually suspended [*sic*] to my hand by their not going to hear him, and refusing to joyn in Communion with him, they acquiesced at length and ceased to give me any farther trouble about that matter. I expect every Moment a short Instrument or letter from his Parishioners in order to be transmitted to the V. Society for a good Minister for them; and Mr Wood being dead, I have with great difficulty extorted a Promise from his Parishioners to send for a Minister; but I cannot depend upon their performance of this promise, till I see it under their hands. The like Paper is promised to me from Christ Church Parish; but I can say nothing certain of it, or of another I expect from St Bartholomews the most Southern Parish of all, which is near the Yamousee Indians, and never yet had a Minister, till I see them and have them in my hands; for it is one of the most difficult things in the World to ffix them in these Resolutions, because of the little Feuds and Animosities that are among some of the Top Parishioners of each Parish. Mr. Trott wou'd have me send at all adventures for Missionarys for these Vacant Parishes, but my answer is that I cannot do it without a request from the Vestry of each Parish in writing, the V. Society having made an Order never to send any without this, because of the difficulty that Occurs in the Church Act with respect to the

Election of Ministers, who may be rejected as well as chosen, notwithstanding the Queens Bounty Mony and the expence and trouble the Bishop of London and the V. Society may be at in sending them so great [*sic*] away and thro' so many dangers and difficultys. I am in hopes to procure an Act for 25£ to be given to each Missionary on his Arrival here as a free gift; and tho' this was not so much as I aim'd at in the Paper, which I gave in the late Govrs time to the Assembly, and of which I sent you a Copy by Capt Cole, yet this party confirms what I just now observed concerning our Legislators; that what they will not at one time on the most pressing Instances, they will at another time freely and voluntarily do of themselves. There is a design likewise of dividing the Southern Parish into two, but as I dare not say anything certain of this at this time, so I despair not of the success of it hereafter.

In my former Letter, if I mistake not, I gave you but a slender Accot of the hopes I then had of giving away the Spanish New Testaments to advantage; But I must in some measure now contradict that Account, having given some of them to several Spanish Prisoners, that were brought into this place by the Privateers. Upon my delivering the Books to them, I asked them, by an Interpreter, what they thought of the doctrine of Transubstantiation: to which they readily answer'd, that they believed as the Protestants did, and presently turn'd over to 1 Cor. 11. where they said that Article was set in the Clearest light; They added that shou'd those Books come into the Romish Clergy's hands they wou'd undoubtedly be burn'd; and that it wou'd be a difficult matter for them to escape the same fate; but they were resolved to keep them nevertheless, what 'ere came of them. I was greatly pleased with the Zeal they expressed on this occasion, and shew'd them the Civility of the house, as much as I cou'd. Upon their departure, I exhorted them to pray fervently and incessantly to God, that he wou'd be pleased to guide and Assist them with the grace of his Holy Spirit both in their search of Divine truths and in the Performance of their Duty; for which good Advice they were very thankfull; nor cou'd I by any means keep them, (without runing ye hazard of disobliging them) from kissing my hands. I hear the Yamousee Indians are very much inclin'd to embrace the Christian Religion: and wish I cou'd from my own experience affirm the truth of this Account. But this being impossible under my present

Circumstances I am now contriving a way to inform my self more exactly concerning the disposition of the Indian Nations about us with respect to Christianity, till I am enabled by the Assistance of the V. Society to know this more perfectly from my own being among them. Want of health and a Sufficient ffund are two Invincible Obstacles in my way; and when these are removed, I am willing to go whithersoever my Superiours shall command me. In the meantime, by being appointed one of the Comrs of the Indian Trade Act, I shall be able perhaps to learn something relating to the Indians, which otherwise I cou'd never attain to at this distance. Col. Tynte our late Govr was truly intent upon this thing, as also on all other Affairs that appear'd to him to contribute to the better settlement of the Church and the Propagation of Religion among us; and cou'd We but meet wth such another Govr, but more long lived than he was I do not question, but this wou'd in a few Years be one of the most regular and Conformable Churches in America. The Countenance of a Govr is of so great Consequence in this Province, and whenever the Lords are pleased to send us one, the V. Society knows well what is proper to be done upon such an Occasion. I cou'd tell of some who are in many respects, a great hindrance to the true settlement of this Church, and do a great deal of mischief thro' singularity & Affectation. But in hopes they may be undeceived, as they seem to be already in many things, I will not name them; 'tis sufficient to say, they are not clergymen, and so I leave them. I am of Opinion, tho' 'tis not my Opinion alone, that shou'd the Venble Society honour some of the better and more considerable sort of Churchmen in this Country wth an Admission into their Corporacon, this wou'd be a Means of engaging them to labour more heartily in the Affairs of Religion. But I have so little Confidence in any thing of this kind, that far from recommending it, I only barely mention it.

The Method I take to engage the Vacant Parishes to send for Missionarys, I had almost forgotten; to encourage them to send for Minrs I told them, that the few Clergymen that were left wou'd endeavour to supply them in their turns every 2d or 3d Sunday, sickness or other unavoidable Accidents excepted, till they were supplied from S. Britain; but that otherwise; they cou'd not, and ought not, to expect any help from us, when they were wanting to themselves. The promises they made me I have already men-

tion'd; and for this Purpose I desired a Meeting from my Brethren that we might settle the Turns by Mutual consent among us. One great Argument I made use of to perswade My Brethren to concur with me in this, was, besides what I formerly mention'd, that we might ffix and keep the People of these Vacant Parishes together, and prevent their run[n]ing over to the Dissenters. But Mr. Maule, Mr. Hasel and Mr. Gignillat having only met, I cou'd not do much for the reasons I have formerly given. However those that came did freely enter into a Combination to help me; and Mr. La Pierre undertook his turn afterwards, so that We five do what We can to supply the Vacant Parishes between us. If I have done amiss either in this or any thing else relating to the Religious State of this Province, I am sure I designed otherwise and did it for the best; and therefore I hope I shall be the more easily pardon'd; There is nothing that I have done, my own private duty excepted, that I wou'd have attempted wthout direct advice from home: But the time that wou'd be taking [*sic*] up in asking & receiving this, wou'd be so very long and uncertain, that the present Opportunity wou'd be lost; and it is not always that Circumstances concur, or occasion offers, or that people are in the humour to do things, as they ought to be done.

Mr. Marston still continues the same unhappy and irreconcilable Man. No Man has suffer'd more from him, than I have done. Irish Rapparee, & Scotch Irish Lyllibolaro, Schismatick &c are the best titles he is pleased to bestow on me. I have opposed his being elected here, as being no Minister of the Church of England, because he has disown'd My Lord Bishop of London's Authority both under his hand and by word of Mouth before the present Govr and Council. He has most barbarously abused this great and good Prelate, with the Odious Name of Rebel, Murderer, and the like; nor has he held Communion since my Arrival with any of the Clergy of this Province, but Dr. Le Jau, for what reason he knows best. It is my particular misfortune that he lives in my Parish, where he dos me a great deal of mischief by representing me in the most odious colours to the Dissenters and my own People, as a Sacrilegious, unjust, ignorant, lazy, covetous, and Schismatical Minister; This is his continual Cant, publicly in the Streets as well as in private houses; And tho' I am, I thank God, not much mov'd by these Malicious Aspersions; yet I know not but his tatter'd

habit, and miserable Condition may make some impression on unwary and ignorant people to my disadvantage, tho' I cannot say it has actually done so. However the continual Noise and Disturbance he makes in the Town, or wherever he goes is a great Nuisance; and Proposals have been made to him in order to Perswade him to leave the Country, which I hear he is willing to accept of; but I can say nothing certain of it, till I enquire farther. Some of his Letters I have transmitted to my Diocesan, in one of which he plainly renounced his Episcopal Authority and Jurisdiction in Carolina.

I herein send you likewise the Copy of a Petition which I lately gave in to the Assembly, in order to supply some defects in those Acts mention'd in it; and I am told something will be done by the Assembly to this purpose. Mr Maule and I were chosen Comrs of the Church Act, which when I was sent for by the Board and acquainted with by the Govr I accepted on Condition that My Lord of London and the Venble Society were not displeased at it. I think Dr Le Jau was chosen or to be chosen, I cannot tell which, having immediately withdrawn, after I had signified my acceptance on the aforesaid Terms. Church affairs are greatly neglected thro' the remisness of the Lay Comrs and therefore to give the greater dispatch to the building of Churches, and the Minister's houses; and that Missionary's upon their Arrival may have their Conge de Elire the sooner (for such the Comrs order to the vacant Parishes for choosing a Minister plainly is) they have thought fit to joyn some of us with them in that Commission. I own, I do not like this way and I wish I may live to see the old Brittanick Episcopal way of Institution &c settled here as it is at home, but in the meantime we must take things as they are, and be content. I dare not comit to Paper, who and what those are who obstruct this most; and cou'd I be spared from this Place for any time I shou'd think it worth while to come home about these matters; but at this distance it is not safe to say any thing of them; and therefore all that is to be done, is, as I have formerly hinted in my Letter by Capt Cole, to recommend these things to the Governmt and Missionarys, and to such as are Members to the V. Society, and above all things I begg we may be all strictly charged to meet and consult one another upon all Occasions, and that laying aside all unnecessary punctilio's and pretences, we may be all of one heart

and one Soul and that we may be strict Observers of the Church Discipline, as far at least as it respects our own Psonal Conduct and behaviour towards one another.

In the beginning of this Letter I gave you some hopes of Mr Taylour, but Cou'd then say nothing of him; however I think I have him now pretty sure, as you may see by the inclosed Letter for you. He has wrote another likewise to my Lord Bp of London. which 'tis possible his Lordsp may Communicate to the V. Society. He is now return'd home into the Country from whence I sent for him about Six days ago, in order to prepare himself for his Voyage; and has directed me to Post up his Name for that purpose according to a Law and the Custome of the Country. While he was in Town he was most violently attacked by the Presbyterian Minr of this place, Mr Levingstone and one of his Congregation, altho' it was but upon a bare Suspicion of his inclining to Conform. Mr Levingstone said, he had taken a great deal of pains to Vindicate him from a Scandalous imputation he lay under, and was glad to see him, that he might know the truth from his own Mouth;—And Mr Taylour desiring to know what that was; the other told him, that it was generally reported of him that he was going to Conform, and make Shipwreck of a good Conscience; to which the other that was with Mr Levingstone added, Ay Ay, he is going to Swallow Popery and the Devil. By this You may Judge what sort of Dissenters we have here, and make an estimate of all those infamous representations they make at home of the true State of this Country; You may also imagine by this, what a difficult and dangerous post I am placed in; and how much I need all the Advice and Assistance, that either my Diocesan and the V. Society at home, and my Brethren and an able Curate here can give me. As to Mr Taylour's Character, it is in short this, as far as I know him. He is a very little Man, and very honest and peaceable, and of unblameable life and Conversation. But as to his Learning, I can say nothing of that; tho' I believe he has enough to make him an honest Minister. He is very Modest and reserv'd in his Conversation, so that it is hard to give a true or certain Character of him in this respect: but I heard him nevertheless speak very well upon some occasions. He understands the Latin Tongue pretty well, having when Mr L'Escot was here convers'd with us freely in that Language. But the thing, which I can chiefly speak to, and

most value him for, is his unexceptionable way of life, and this with a competent Stock of learning, is beyond all the learning in the World without it. Those of Christ Church Parish wou'd be content to have him for their Minister; but he is resolved not to tye himself to any particular Parish, till he returns. If he seems inclinable to any one Parish more than another, it is to that on Ashley River, which was Mr. Woods. But he supposes the disposition of the Vacant Parishes, and the settlement of the Missionarys in them, will be to a great degree entrusted to me, by My Lord Bishop of London and the V. Society, and so he rests contented.

It is not to be doubted, but the Dissenters will traduce and villify him all they can, on the Account of his Conformity; having long ago expressed their dissatisfaction at him, for refusing to Sign their false Malicious & Scandalous Libels, and to enter into their Associations. When he has the honor to wait upon you, he will acquaint you with many of the Secret Proceedings and Transactions of that restless Party, and will greatly confirm the Character I have formerly given you of the Carolina Dissenters & their Ministers. I know I shall have a double Portion of their Malice & ill will upon this occasion, having before this business of Mr Taylour's been threatned to be turn'd out by some of them, if they cou'd but get an Assembly to their Mind. This Information was privately given me by a Young Woman of extraordinary Piety belonging to our Church, who overheard them; Tho' why they shou'd thus hate me, I know not, having never had the least difference with any of them. I own, I have made some attempts on Mr Levingston before he went off, as also on several others of his Congregation, wch I believe has raised their Spleen against me: And perhaps the Constant care I take to reconcile and Cement and keep our own people together, and to preserve the ffrench firm to our Church and our Interests, dos not a little vex them; because by this means I hinder them from making any Advantage of our Divisions. But all this I value not as being Conscious of myself to have done nothing with respect to them as well as the rest of My Parishioners, but what was my duty. They begin already to bespatter me, as a Covetous Person and High fflyer. 'Tis true, I cannot live as I wou'd for reasons which I have given you; but they enter not into these things. And tho' my Circumstances are very hard, yet as to them the Charge is most false and malicious, for

no Man has more solemnly invited them or more frequently visited them than I have done, perhaps indeed to a fault, but all in vain ;— Nor has any of them ever return'd my Visits three only excepted ; Mr. Levingston has been the most frequent in his returns, but he has not, modestly speaking, paid one for Six ; I have visited none so punctually as those who threatened to deprive me, without taking the least Notice of their design against me ; but to little purpose, so that I now begin to despair of being able to do any good with them, till We have a New Governr And till time and their frequent disappointments has humbled them and made them a little more peaceable ; As for the other part of their Charge vizt My being a High fflyer I perfectly despize it ; because every one is such with them, that will not say and do what they wou'd have him. I have Offer'd the top Dissenters my Service to Compose their Differences, and heal their breaches ; but the[y] cannot be brought to make the least Step towards an Accommodation. I have never yet preached a Sermon against the unreasonableness of their Separation, nor did I directly or indirectly stir up the People to Arms, as their Ministers have done ; I have not reflected on them from the Pulpit, as they have grossly done on the Church of England ; nor have I forced or perswaded any person to sign an Instrument that he wou'd never turn Dissenter ; And if after all this silence which I am more than afraid is a fault, I am traduced as a high fflyer &c by them ; I leave it to you to Judge whether I deserve this ill Treatment from them.

In the time of our late troubles and Contests about the Government, and the Election of Assembly, I was desired to say something in Public from the Pulpit to keep our own People close and firm to one another ; the dissenting Ministers being remarkably zealous and active this way, but I absolutely refused it, and answer'd that I wou'd not meddle with any thing that did not belong to Religion, being prohibited to do otherwise from the Nature of the Ministerial ffunction, and the Commands of my Superiours, and particularly by the Eleventh Article of Our Instructions from the Venble Society wth respect to ourselves ; I added that Presbyterian Ministers were no fit examples for my imitation in this point, and that 'twas enough for me to speak my Mind privately as [*sic*] a Subject when there was occasion for it, in a Modest and Peaceable way, and not otherwise ; Our present Condition, indeed, is, very unhappy as I

have already Observed; but a good & Legal Govr will in a little time (with Gods blessing on his honest endeavours) reestablish things and 'tis more than possible that the many troubles and disappointments the Dissenters have met with, and the great expence they have been at in their Attempts upon the Government, here and at home, will make them weary & quiet at last.

Capt. ffavel one of those who used to come to our Church, is as I hear this Morning turn'd Presbyterian lately within these two or three days; he has been sick above half a Year, and about three Months ago, was carryd to a Presbyterian House in the Country, in Christ Church Parish; the Woman of the House is Mrs Fenwicke, wife to one of those 4 Gentlemen who are now in London, and went over with design to impeach and Complain of our late Govr Col. Tynte, before he was well Seated in the Government; I am nothing ashamed of this accident considering the Care and Pains, I had been at formerly about him, tho' to no Purpose, besides I cannot be Accountable, for what he did in another Parish, where he was, as he is still, out of my reach; and tho' he were not, yet I believe I should not be able to prevent it. By the inclosed Paper, you will see I have not been negligent in my duty; it was part of a Letter I was writing to you at the time it is dated; but being unable to finish it, or perhaps not having matter enough for a full Account of things at that time; and the Vessel also, if I remember it aright, being bound for Biddeford, or Barnstable & not for London I threw it aside and did not finish it: I have sent you only that part of wch concerns this Man's case, having cut off the rest as being contained in the former part of this Letter. The Absolving Men, upon Attrition and Confession in the Church of Rome, and the Doctrine of Predestination, as tis generally maintain'd and understood among our Dissenters here are fatal baits, by which many ill Livers are Catched and made Proselytes, especially in the time of Sickness; and if this Man did not like the doctrine of Repentance as I explain'd it to him, I cannot help it.—This I can safely say, that I did my duty, and have nothing to answer for on his Account. He is not yet dead, nor do I know, shou'd he live whether he will persist in this way or not. I am also perfectly ignorant what Circumstances he was in, or what arts were made use of to induce him to send for the Presbyterian Minister of this place: But be it as it will, I was resolved to impart this Account to you, as I shall always

be, to communicate every thing tho' never so small, that has the least reference to Religion, unless it be when a Rational and well grounded Charity, and the Prospect of doing a great good, shall oblige me to keep silence.

If you have not laid out Col. Rhett's 30£ for a Sett of Communion Plate for our Church, he prays, that you wou'd lay it out, and get the Plate made after what Fashion you think fit; and when it is done, either send or deliver it [to] Captain Cole, in order to have it conveyed hither by the first ship.

There is abundance of Cocao in this place, belonging to the Queen in Col. Thomas Broughton's hands, who is her Majtys Collector for this Province: What he has will amount to above 3000£ at 4£P [cwt] and is the duty of two Spanish Prizes, which the Privateers brought in. I fancy Her Majty might be easily prevail'd upon by an humble request from the Society, to give an Order for some of it, for the support and encouragmt of the Ministers here; and if any they cou'd be had this way, the V. Society wou'd then be able to supply my wants here, without diminishing any part of their ffund at home. But I barely mention it and so press it not further.

In the foregoing part of this Letter, I said, I wished Mr Maule were near me, and I now again repeat the same Wish, and earnestly begg he may have leave to move into one of the Next Parishes, My reasons for this I have given already; and since the Publick good, as well as my private ease, considering the hard duty I am always upon, dos in a great measure require this, I hope the V. Society will consent to his removal; for without their leave, neither he nor I can think of it. And both he and I are perswaded, My good Ld of London upon application made to him by the V. Society, will not refuse to give his consent upon this occasion.

I am afraid I have been guilty of many repetitions in this and my former Letter by Capt. Cole; and am as sure, that I have forgotten other things wch perhaps wou'd be of some use to you to know. But this is not much to be wonder'd at, all things consider'd: ffor my Memory is exceedingly impair'd with my strength and Constitution; and I write by Snatches, according as I have time and leasure, and am free from Avocations, and not in a ffix'd, regular and uninterrupted way, as I wou'd. Besides, the not being able to take duplicates, or to keep Diaries, or to write down the Heads of things just when I remember them (because it is often impos-

sible for me so to do) is not small disadvantage to me; not to say anything of that Confusion and distraction, wch my own Circumstances and the many Spectacles of Sickness and Mortality which I dayley behold, cause in my thoughts. Add to these the constant resort of Visitants, the answering of Letters, my frequent ailments & the Care of all the Churches especially those that are Vacant; and last of all the very length of such a Lre and the great Variety of things to be imparted in it, and when all these Considerations are put together, it will seem almost impossible it shou'd be otherwise; nor do I in the least doubt, but great allowances will be made to me on this occasion. Had I time to Transcribe my Letters, I cou'd cut of[f] a great many Superfluitys, and they wou'd come in better Order to Your hands both as to their Coherence and Character; but having no leasure for this, I write, just as I have time, and as things and thoughts occur to me.

I do most humbly thank the most Revd President and the rest of the most Noble, Right Revd & Honble Members of the Illustrious Society for their kind Present of 20£ to me, of which I have no Accot but what you are pleased to [say] in Your Letter. I will make it the whole business of my life to endear and recommend myself to them, by a faithfull and Conscientious discharge of my duty in this place; and as this is the only thing they expect from me, so I know it is the best and most valuable return I can make them. Towards the gaining this point on both sides, next to God's grace, nothing will more effectually contribute than good Advice and frequent Instructions from the Venble Society, on all occasions: Nor will any thing of this kind be the less pleasing to me, because it comes to me from the hands of a Person, to whom I am so much as I am to you

Hond Sir

A Most humb. Servt
Gideon Johnston

Feb 15th The Ship is just ready to Sail, so I cannot send you all the papers I mention'd, for I have not gotten a List of the Parishioners from the Constables as they promis'd me, & the clk. has but just now given me the list of those that dyed. You must therefore excuse me, & take things as they now are; and besides the hurry I am in on the account of the Ships Sailing, I am just sent for by Majr Prickes in order to administer the Holy Communion to him.

The No of the Married since I was Minister of this place is 37 Couple. Those whose Burying Money is paid are marked thus (pd) & the List of Persons baptized is in another Paper.⁵

V

Four months after his long letter of January 27, 1711, the Commissary continued with the topics of Maitland, Marston, and Maule. Of these three men, Maitland is dead, Marston is penitent, and Maule, the good friend, is a chief support of the Commissary who would like him for a neighbor. Johnston's debts are still a heavy weight, he begs for a curate, and he sums up that the present title of Commissary is empty of meaning and that he "walks alone" among the other S.P.G. missionaries. His success in winning Taylor over to the Anglican Church is a cheerful item. He goes into detail in asking favorable treatment of Taylor, as this success will set a precedent for winning over other Dissenting ministers. The Scotch Presbyterians, however, are gaining strength, and he fears that they will attempt to establish a coördinate state church. It must be noted that, at this time, there were, and still are, two established religions in the island of Britain: the Presbyterian in Scotland, and the Anglican in England. The Anglican Church was disestablished in Ireland in 1869 and in Wales in 1920.

Apparently the Commissary, as an Anglo-Irishman, sensed the beginnings of the flood of Scotch-Irish immigration which, during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, filled the back country of the colonies. Born in South Carolina, for instance, in 1767, was Andrew Jackson, of Scotch-Irish immigrants. The Commissary's complaints and forebodings, although giving the reader the impression that he may lose the struggle, were designed to get action from his superiors. It will be shown later how successful he was in establishing the Anglican Church in South Carolina; more firmly than it was established in any other colony. It is an in-

⁵ Commissary Johnston to the Secretary, Charleston, S. C., January 27, 1711, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 6, LXIV, pp. 151-205. The letter is recorded as received in the Journal of the S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, December 21, 1711, No. 3, p. 133. The Society agreed that the "most Material Passages" in the letter be abstracted, and recommended that the Bishop of London "be desir'd to represent to the Lds Proprietors of Carolina in the name of the Society, the above Complaint of Comry Johnston."

triguing question whether such efforts would have been successful two generations later when the Dissenters had arrived in mass and philosophical deism began to change the mood of the colonial mind.

Commissary Johnston to ye Secretary

Apl 20th 1711

Hond. Sr

I have nothing new to impart to you since my last of the 5 of March which was to be sent as a supplement to the letter Mr Hyde Carried for you: only that Mr Maitland¹ died yesterday Morning about 1 of the Clock and was buried this day about the same hour in the forenoon: I have done all that was in my Power on this occasion to press some of his Parishioners whom I occasionally met with this day. to Write for a Minister, since now the main obstacle is remov'd out of their way & they have made me large promises but I can never depend upon the Performance till I have their Instrument for that Purpose in my hands. the Gentlemen of Christ Church make large promises also but seeing is beleiving, in the meantime be well assur'd Sr my best endeavours are not wanting to make them quicken their pace, I now plainly see Mr Mars[t]on will never be chosen a Minister in any Parish of [*sic*] Province. His submission to my Ld of London and his asking Lordship Pardon after having so barbarously Reflected on my Lord, and Mangled his Reputation twas a Debt most justly due from [*sic*] his Lordship nor can he too often bewail and lament his transgressions this way but were he never so much countenanced by his Lordship and the most honourable society, Nay by the Bps & Clergy of England—they will never run the hazard of being Worried by him, and now they know him to well to trust themselves to his Conduct. the Church Comm[issioners] met the 18. about him, but they will never consent to an order for his Election in any of these so that I plainly see he must either live here upon Charity or transplant himself elsewhere I have admitted him to the Com-

¹ On September 16, 1708, Maitland had written his only letter to the Society, informing them that, having been recommended by the Bishop of London for Carolina, he had sailed so "unexpectedly" for the Colony, that he could not attend the Society. Arriving in Carolina in August, 1707, he took the ministry at St. Paul's, recently vacated by William Dun. He asked the Society's continuation of the "encouragement" previously allowed at St. Paul's but, up to the time of his death, had not been admitted to the "benefits" he requested. See S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 4, CXXVII, pp. 356-357.

munion of our Cch tho it is what perhaps I cannot well justify to my Ld London but beeing so glad to see the last signs of a Reformation in him, I made [*sic*] very scruple to receive him and the rather because he seem'd so sensibly touch'd with the wrong he'd done my Lord of London, would he take my last [*sic*] advice. things would succeed [*sic*] better to his wishes But I am sorry to say It, he has not yet Intirely shaken off that fierceness and heat of temper which seems now almost natural to him and from which tis hardly possible to Weavour him—I formerly acquainted him with the necessity of having some able Clergymen in the next Parishes to me for which I hope I have given sufficient reasons. No Man shews with a fairer Character than Mr Maule does among my Parishioners both as to the Point of Preaching and Unternisht reputation and for this reason he will be a very fit Person to be always near me—and ready at hand to supply my place upon any extraordinary Ocasion. the Parishoners of Christ Church have made repeated instances to him to Come to them nor have I been unapplied to upon this Accot but both Mr Maule & I were fully resolv'd never to Entertain or Encourage a Proposall of this kind without the Most Honble Societys full and Express consent upon this occasion and so all further treaties about his removal were laid aside. As for my own affairs they are still in the same unhappy Condition. poverty & the want of an able Curate are Continual elogs & Impediments to me, & tis Impossible that yt body can be in any good order which is allways attended with a dejected mind, the Debts I have been foret to Contract for the transportation of my Poor Wife is an Additional trouble to me and were I not firmly Perswaded concerning the Most honble society's care of me I should scarcely be able to support myself under the sense of my present Misfortunes but let my Debts be once pd my children taken off my hands and my debts [*sic*] reestablished and let me once have an able and honest Curate and let the Missionarys be Commanded to meet and Consult one another on all proper & necessary occasions And then no task or burden, no ffatigue or difficulty shall be too hard for me, whilst God spares me life & health. Of All the Ministers in this Province Mr Maule has ever been the most ready to Ease and Assist me but when I say this I must not omit the giving Mr Hasle [*sic*] his due praises this way for the other Gentlemen I neither ask nor expect any favour of this kind from them partly

because some of them are not perfectly Masters of the English tongue and partly because I would not run the hazard of being denied by them and for this reason it is that I have foreborn to call them together at Easter or at any other time almost this year past, either by way of Visiting of them or Consultation because I am apt to believe some of them may fancy this would either lessen them or be an Encroachment on their Christian liberty, The Commission my Lord of Londn has favoured me wth is a great trust as you well observe in one of yor letters but I must be plain and say that a Commissary here as far as I yet can see is but a mere Empty title, Vox et preterea nihil and I have so great a regard for my Ld of London's reputation, and the first verse of the 133 Psalm concerning fraternal love and Unity is so often in My mind that I will not run the vast hazard in extinguishing the one or prostituting the other Before I came hither there were quarterly meetings Appointed by common Consent, and the Clergy in those days used to have a Sermon and to wait upon and harange the Govr in a body and there was at that time the Appearance of a Christian and friendly Correspondence kept up among them. but since the first time that I called upon them and shewd them my Commissn wee have never from that day met all together and I am sure they never shall (for me) till I have Instructions from my Ld of London for that purpose. this makes me walk alone in all that I do because I cant prevail upon them to meet. and those that would Come would be unwilling to speak their minds freely because they fancied those whose Constant practice it is to stay at home did they industriously [*sic*] wth design to Express their dislike of such meeting and to Magnify their own conduct.

I have frequently by letters and word of mouth asked many of them their advice and opinion even in things of little Consequence and no difficulty; to convince them if possible that No man was to great or good to need some times the meanest advice. and above all things I have charged them in the most pressing manner to shew themselves true friends and Brethren to me by acquainting me with my failings or any false step I may at any time make according as their own observation, or common fame should furnish them with an Oppertunity to give them occasion so to do. And the rather because as I was plac'd in the most advaned and dangerous Post. so my ffailing would be more Visible and of much more per-

nicious consiquence, and here I must not forget Mr Maules sincerity who as in all other things so has he in this shewd himself to be no false Brother. And I freely own for this very reason if there were no other most willingly [*sic*] have him near me. I sent you a letter of Mr Tayleur inclosd in mine by Mr Hyde and he now waits upon you with one from me and do not doubt but the most honble Society will by the kind reception they Will give him Encourage others to follow his Example and come over to us. he is a Person of an unblamable life and Conversation, nor Can the Dissentrs his most Implacable enemies at this time father any thing upon him to his disadvantage the more I know him the more I like him & I can truly say that from the very first moment of my acquaintance with him he ever spoke with all respect immaginable of the Church of England.—confessing and declaring upon all occasions that the Church of England was (To use his own words) a Noble and Glorious part of the Reformation this respect wch he express'd for our Cch. and his refuseing to sign the Dissenters address and Petition drew upon him the Displeasure of that party and tho they carried it fair with him to his face and seem'd not to resent his Conduct with respect to their designs yet they lessennd & traduced him behind his back as an Ordinary Preacher and they did this so much the more because he generally made use of notes it was a considerable time before I could prevail upon him to declare his favour of our Church and we often discoursed of the things in Controversy between us and the Dissenters yet that which was most Insisted upon was Episcopacy as being the most Material article but I will say no more of this because he himself will be best able to give you an accot of the Matters wch cheifly induc't him to conform. One thing however I think necessary to acquaint [you] with concerning him and that is that he may not be to strictly and rigourously Examined as our own Novices and missionaries generally are because in my humble opinion, some allowance ought to [be] given to his years and rate of Education &c I propose not this as fancying that he is a Weak ignorant Man for I know him to be to a very good degree otherwise and tho [he] is not so very learned as might be wish'd yet the innocence of his life woud make abundance of Compensation for this defect. But the truth is I find as far as my small Judgement reaches to be sufficiently qualified for the Ministeriall function. he has a large study of books suitable

to the genius and business of a Presbyterian Ministr and this is a Probable Argument that he is not Illeterate he speaks Latin freely enough with Mr Escot and me; and where he is free for he is as near as I can guess a very modest man he converses with life and spirit and with a Commendable sprightlynness of temper and the great reason which induc'd him to desert the dissenters was their unpeacable ffactions and seditious Humor this made him reflect a little more narrowly on the differences betwen us and when he had duly weigh'd things he found that what men call'd tenderness in conscience in outward appearance was at the bottom nothing Else but design and faction and a spirit of Contradiction, he will be able to give the most Illustrious society a true history of our Dissenter [*sic*] and their Intrigues in this Province and how great inconvenience the Pouring in Scotch Presbyterian Ministers on us contrary to the rights of the English Dissenting Clergy may bring upon us and then the society will be able to Judge what Remedies are most proper to obviate and prevent such affairs. [*sic*] Zealots from coming among us for the future I have sent an Originall Letter of Mr Lords an Independant Minister suppos'd to be written to Capt ffenwick one of the late Presbyterian agents in England, to my Ld of London, as also the Copy of a Letter written to the Commrs of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland and another paper containing likewise some queries concerning the Presbyterian way of administring the Sacrament of the Ld supper all which I have pray'd his Ldship after he has perus'd them to transmit to you. or at least copies of them. the last part of Mr Lords letter is very remarkable, and shews him an honest man and more moderate and peaceable than the Presbyterian Minrs here are, But I will make no farther Remarks on it but leave it to speak for itself, The Eyes of all the Dissenters are upon Mr Tayleur and his state with respect to the most Honble Society's way of receiving and Encouraging him will in all probably have a considerable influence on other Dissenting Ministers Remember wt I said formerly concerning the Necessity of a Curate and with Gods blessing and the most honble Society's Encouragement. I will Undertake to do something more than what I am now able to do. provided always that I am made Easy in my Circumstances and that I can recover my Health three Ministers are wanting besides Mr Tayleur and a Curate for me but as I have

gotten no letters to this purpose so I dare not press for the sending them: I am with my Earnest Prays: for the welfare & Prosperity of the most Illustrious Society

Hond Sr

Yor Most Oblidged &
humble Servt

Gideon Johnston²

VI

The letter of November 16, 1711, belongs to the medical annals of colonial America. It gives graphic descriptions of the illnesses in South Carolina and of the helplessness of the people under epidemic conditions. Streets were deserted, scarce "one house in twenty... [but] still labours under this generall Calamity." Churches, which had been very full, were now thinly attended. Festivities were abandoned, "few walk abroad," and only the sailors in the port were unaffected in their behavior. The Dissenters have become peaceable in the united effort to save the community. The plague gave the Commissary a religious opportunity. He regarded it as a judgment on the people and, being completely unafraid, he visited the sick, buried the dead, and comforted the bereaved. His severe exertions made him feel better physically and his multiplied duties enabled him to press the need for a curate, until in the end he secured one.

Added to the ravages of the pestilence, there was the rebellion of the Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, which was an additional cause for the abandonment of business. This voluntary quarantine of the people in the suspension of contacts in business and social occasions was a main weapon in combatting the spread of the "small Pox, Pestilential fevers, Pleurisies, and flux's." The Commissary noted that, although previously the plague came to an end with the approach of winter, on this occasion, although winter was early and sharp, the pestilences continued. This fact would apparently indicate a variety of diseases including probably malaria, yellow fever, influenzas, and pneumonia which the Commissary calls pleurisy, as well as smallpox, which sometimes protected the exhausted community by wholesale destruction of the Indians.

² Commissary Johnston to the Secretary, Charleston, S. C., April 20, 1711, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 6, CXXIV, pp. 373-383. Recorded in Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, December 21, 1711, No. 5, p. 134.

The missionaries all remained at their posts and in good repute except Mr. Gignillat who was unkind "to his rich and decrepit wife." The remaining parts of the letter deal with Johnston's debts and finances. In order to point out that local contributions could not be expected, he gives a most interesting summary of the aid sent to the North Carolinians. A body of 1,200 Indians and some white men were dispatched at the cost of £7,000 for the expedition and for other assistance, raising the debt of the Colony to £23,000.

Attached to this letter is an interesting inventory of the value of the income of St. Philip's Parish totaling £300 colonial.

Mr. Johnstons Lre from S : Carolina

16th Nov. 1711—

Honord Sr

I am so much taken up with the Duties of my place, that you must not expect I should write all this Lre at once. Nver was there a more sickly or fatall season than this for the small Pox, Pestilential ffeavers, Pleurisies, and fflex's have destroyed great numbers here of all Sorts, both Whites, Blacks and Indians,—and these distempers still rage to an uncommon degree. Three Funeralls of a day, and som times four are now very usual; and all that I gett by these is a few rotten Glov's and an abundance of trouble day & night; for I do solemnly protest I have not reed a penny this way these 9 months past.—

The Town looks miserably thin, and disconsolate, and there is not one House in twenty I speak modestly that has not Considerably suffer'd and still labours under this generall Calamity. Never I believe had any Minister more work upon his hands than I have had these 3 months past; nor do I yet see any End of it: Tis true in the time of the great sickness here (when Mr Marshall Dyed) vast numbers P[er]lished But then in two Months time, upon the approach of Winter all was over. But the distempers now rageing are so farr from decreasing, the winter began very early, and is very sharp, that, on the Contrary they gather fresh strength and vigour by it, some attribute this mortality to one thing, and some to another. But I verily think, it is a Sort of Plague, a kind of Judgemt upon the Place (ffor they are a sinfull People)—and such I have represented it in some discourses and as such I now pray for it.—

Never was the Church so full, as it was about 4 Months ago; Insomuch that all was pleased to see so fine and uncommon an Appearance: But now it looks thin and naked thro our present sickness & Mortality; and holds no Comparison to what it was, Some keep themselves under a close confinement in their Chambers, and dare not stirr abroad, for fear of being Infected; and others are so taken up in attending the sick, that they are not at leizure to go to Church or elsewhere.—

Decemb: 26. Instead of the usual Joy & ffestivity of this Season and the continual fluttering of People up and down the streets, very few are seen to walk abroad, and there is scarce any thing to be heard but Sighs and Complaints, and sad accents of Sorrow at every corner; unless it be among Sailers, and Such hardned Wretches, as are Impenetrable to any thing of this kind. All these That have any just Sense of the Comon Calamity are now Convinced, how absolutely necessary an Assistant is to me in the full and Adequate discharge of my Duty; ffor tho I should do all that is possible for any one man to doe, yet I can't do all that is necessary and wanting. And indeed with the humblest Submission I speak it, a Curate or a Schoolmar or a Catechist at Charlestown wou'd be abundantly more for the publick good of Religion than at Goosecreek or elsewhere; But tho it seems I have lost my Credit with the most Illustrious Society, and am not Worthy to be believed, yet time will do this for me, and Confirm the truth of what I say. Were the Governmt Settled, some Steps might be made towards the procuring a curate, and some other things: But there is no attempting anything of this kind now, till Mr Cravens Comn come, which has been expected this half year and more; ffor there is a generall stop to all pub: buisness, but what is unavoidable and absolutely necessary, as the Warr with the Tuscararo Indians of North Carolina &c: Amidst all these Calamities and distractions, there is yet one thing which is an Exceeding Satisfacon to all honest men, and that is the certain Prospect (in all humane appearance) of peace and quietness among us. ffor the Dissenters are now become Extraordinary Peaceable and they Seem now to have laid aside all their Resentments and designs of disturbing the Publick Tranquility for the future. I do not say but that there may be some particular Exemptions in this case; but as I know them not, so I hope they are inconsiderable, and will be noe obstruction to

that generall union and forbearance which all seem to be disposed to. It is not my buisness either to enquire or determine what it is that has chiefly Contributed to this; But this I am sure of, that, let the cause be what it will, there is now an Universal disposition towards a good Correspondence and understanding, beyond wt I every hitherto Saw. Since my Arrival in this place: And Blessed be God, I, who am the most exposed, feel to a great degree the happy Effects of it; nor am I wanting in my Station to promote it, by all the honest Arts I can. Mr Charles Hart our present Secretary and My Lord Duke of Beauforts Deputy, is Master of an Extraordinary healing temper & do's all that in him lyes to promote this good work. He is a Person of singular merit, and of an unblameable life, as well as of some Interest at home; And were the most Illustrious Society pleas'd to Honr him with their favour, I am Confident, the cause of Religion wd suffer nothing by it.—

As for our Missionaries here they still Continue the same good and valuable men. I have formerly repented them; only Mr Gignilat had very much Exposed himselfe by his unkindness to his rich and decripet wife. But if this unhappy difference cannot be adjusted, I will give you a further account of the progress and ill effects of it in my next.—

The Assembly lately Advanced 4 Months Salary before-hand in order to stop the most Craveing of my Creditors Mouths: and I have as yet attempted nothing more either with my Parishioners or the Assembly being unwilling to ask anything beyond this, till Mr Craven and his Comn is a miserable thing to be thus behind hand wth world and to live in want and misery so long a time as I have done here. What makes my condition more insupportable is that I am but a Prisoner at large, for I am under a fatal necessity of continuing here till I am able to pay my debts. Nevertheless amidst all these discouragemts I abate nothing of my diligence, but night and day labour with an unwearyed Application in the discharge of my Duty. It is no small sattisfaction to me to find that manny of my People fancy, God does after an unusual manner support and enable me to goe thro so much buisness as I have upon my hands: but whether this be true or not, so they believe and so I take it—I Bless God I am afraid of noe Distemper; and I am so well used to all its smells that they are now grown ffamiliar and easy to me. And altho I despair of recovering the perfect use of

my Limbs till I get home, yet this I can say, that I have of late felt a sensible Alteracon for the better within me. How long this Improvement of my health may continue God only know's but be this as it will, I have laid this down as a certain Rule to my selfe that noe little trifleing fears or unnecessary Caution about my health shall ever hinder me a Moment from doing my Duty when Call'd upon at any time or in any place tho never soe remote, ffor I shall ever live and dye in this Opinion that a sincere and Conscientious diligence in the Exercise of my Ministeriall Function, will Entitle me to my great masters more immediate care and Protection. And if he suffers me now to labour under some hardships that others are free from I have Religion eno to know that the Dispensations of Heaven are always wise and just, and good, and I pray God I may make the right use of them.—

I am so farr from repineing at the Illustrious Societies refusing to Contribute to my Ease or Support in this place, that I most humbly thank them for their former kindnesses to me, and may they prosper and flourish while the Sun and Moon Endures. This I hope will convince them that I am no Mercenary Correspondent and that noe disappointmt whatsoever shall make me wanting in paying my Duty to them, as long as they think it worth their Acceptance. It is not in my power to perswade others to every thing, that I thro a defect of Judgmt may fancy is reasonable; But it is in my power to Comd my own temper to a great degree, and to take every thing by its right handle. This is what every man ought to aim at; and this what thro Gods Grace my own Afflictions and the ruggedness of that Path I am forced to tread in his to a great degree taught me. Many are the trials of patience, that a Minister meets with here in the Exercise of his Function; But I thank God I have hitherto Weathered all Points of this kind, by a fixt and Steady course, and have preserved my selfe thitherto in peace and quietness both with my Parishioners and Brethren. I look upon Peace to be so necessary & valuable a thing, that no private Consideracon should every take place of it. My good and ever honoured Diocesan, as well as my Religion has particularly charged me with the preservation of this as much as in my [*sic*] lys, and I pray God I and all the other Ministers and Subjects of the Prince of Peace may ever follow it.

Mr Marston has not yet given any Accot of himself to his Wife

since he went off. She was so miserably poor, and so much at a loss where to procure a Lodging for herself and her Children that out of pity and Compassion, I gave her a Chamber in my house till her husband sent for her, or till she could provide for her selfe otherwise. In the mean time by my Lre to the Assembly I procured her 15£ for her present reliefs, as also 20£ for Mr La Pierre the French Minister of Orange Quarter, who is miserably poor, and when the Assembly meets again, I hope I shall be able to prevail for an addition of 50£ p. annum to his sallary: nor shall Mrs Marston be forgotten if she continues so long in the Country. The last person in the world that I sollicit for, shall be my selfe: and as this is a point that must be managed with great caution and tenderness so I must wait for a proper oportunity and that must be when Mr Cravens Comn arrives: Tho what the Success then will be, or whether I must Expect relief from my Parishioners or the Assembly I cannot tell.

I do not doubt but you have heard, if not from me, yet from Mr Urmston and other hands of the missacre [*sic*] of many of our friends in North Carolina by the Tuscororo Indians; and therefore I will not detain you with a Repetition of that lamentable History. Our Government here has ordered a Body of 1200 Indians and some White men to march to the Assistance of that distressed People under the Com of Col Barnevrett [Barnwell] and they have advanced the sume of 4000£ for that Expedicon. This with the sume of 3000£ more raised a very little time before, has greatly Increased the Publick debts; so that the Country is now in debt 23000£ deep; and this will be no small hindrance to me in obtaining relief for my present Necessities.

As for a Curate, I need not say more than wt I have formerly don. and all that I have to add Concerning this Point is, that I will watch all opportunities of Promoteing the cause of Religion in general, and the Regular Establishmt of the Church of England in Particular in this Province as farr as it lyes in my power. I wish yr Lre to the Governmt here had been inclosed to me, for then I wou'd have taken care to deliver it in its proper season to the proper Pson Mr Craven. The present Governour is scarce owned or regarded as such either at home or here and those who were intrusted with the Lre gave it Mr Craven who thinking himselfe unconcerned in it, as not being directed to him or not being for-

merly [*sic*] delivered to him by some of the Clergy here, he took no further Notice of it—and so laid it aside, I never saw it, and therefore I cou'd not say much to it, and tho a second Lre of that kind would be Exceedingly usefull, yet I am humbly of opinion, you should Charge some of yr Missionarys here with the delivery of it; If this were don in a body by them, I think twou'd be better because this Solemnity together with the Argumts they might make use of in Enlargeing on the Contents of it, wou'd in all probability add to its weight and Influence—

I have not leizure at this time to send you a List of our Communicants and the numbers of the dead &c : since my last, but when the sickness is abated, and that I have more leizure I will not forget to send you by the next oportunity, if I cannot send it you by this.—

Pardon Sr the freedom I take in still Corresponding with you, ffor it is what yrselke in some of your Lres seemed to expect and require from me, and I perswade my selfe you will the more readily do this—when I assure you the great thing I am at in keeping up this Correspondence with you, is to Convince you with how much respect I am the most Illustrious Societys and Honrd Sr

Yr most humble and obedt Servt
Gideon Johnston¹

Mr Marsden to the Secretary [Attached to Johnston's letter, Nov. 16, 1711]

Parish of [*sic*] Phillips Charles Town in South Carolina—

Rector's Sallary 150£ a year paid in money halfe yearly Perquisites and presents 100£ a Negro man and Woman, 3 Cowes, a very good House two large Gardens and a Field Inclosed—

During my being Rector of the above said Parish by an account Exactly kept I found the real vallue to be three hundred a year at least.

Rid Marsden

VII

The Commissary's letter of March 25, 1712, though dictated from a sick bed, is one of triumph for two of his major objectives have been achieved: The Society has allowed him a salary as their mis-

¹ Gideon Johnston to the Secretary, Charleston, S. C., November 16, 1711, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 7, No. 7, pp. 466-477. Abstracted in Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, October 10, 1712, No. 1, pp. 219-220.

sionary and appointed an assistant for him. Though a fortnight's illness has rendered him "both blind and lame" he hastens to acknowledge these "undeserved and Extraordinary Favours both with Respect to my selfe my son and a Curate," and gives a quick report of business in hand.

The fine hand of Mrs. Johnston and of the Bishop of Salisbury may be observed in the Society's action. On November 29, 1711, Bishop Burnet brought before the Board of the Society a memorial from Mrs. Johnston, then in England, on behalf of her husband, "representing the hard Circumstances & Great Services of the Sd Mr Johnston, praying that he may be entertained as the Society's Missionary with a suitable Allowance without wch he cant stay in that Country and that he may be allow'd a person to assist him a Curate and Schoolmaster in Charles Town, and lastly that the Society would be pleased to do something for one of his Sons as the Ld Bp of London has done for another."¹ A letter from the Bishop of London also recommended the case of Mr. Johnston to the Society, and on November 29, 1711, it was agreed that "the sd Mr Johnston be appointed Missionary the Society's with an Allowance of 50£ P. Ann. commencing from Mich[elm]as last. and that a Curate & Schoolmaster be allowed to the sd Mr Johnston with an allowance of £30 P. Ann commencing from the same time; and as a further Consideration of the Great Services pains and Losses of the sd Mr Johnston that there be a present made him of the Sum of £30."²

The fact that these allowances were in pounds sterling made them especially welcome. Johnston's debts in England and Ireland, had to be paid in sterling, a fact which, at the rate of exchange of colonial currency, had increased their size.

Commissary Johnston his letter from Charles Town South Carolina

March 25th 1712

Honourd Sr

I am Extreemly Obliged to you for all the favours and good Offices you have done me Since the first moment I had the Honour

¹ Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, November 29, 1711, No. 4, p. 120. On January 20, 1709/10 Bishop Burnet had asked an allowance for Johnston and his case was referred to a committee. See *ibid.*, I, January 20, 1709/10, No. 8, p. 145.

² *Ibid.*, II, November 29, 1711, No. 4, p. 120.

of being acquainted wth you and wish I could Express my Gratitude in a more Substantiall & Significant Manner than in bare proffesions and Acknowledgements but this being the only return that I am at Present able to make be pleased to receive it Such as it is and to accept of the Good will for the deed.

My Wife tells me that the Most Illustrious Society has appointed me one of their Missionaries in this Province and also has orderd me a Curate or Assistant which I never wanted more than now being both blind & Lame and confin'd to my bed this fortnight Past.³

My blindness is occationed by a very great Inflammation and De-fluction wch tho' it be but in one of my Eyes yet it so Affects the other that it has rendred it perfectly Useless—tis yet unknown whether I shall Loose my Eye or not but all agree it is in the Utmost Danger.

As for my Lameness some say tis the Gout others the Rheumatism but there is no depending upon the Judgement or Assistance of our Medicasters here.

Mr Jones a Clergyman whom my Lord of Londn Sent hither and his family is now with me he has Supplied my Cure Since I fell Ill but I know not what to do when he's gone. Next Sunday he begins to Preach at Christ Church where he is to continue till the most Illustrious Society has Signified yr Resolucon concerning the Reverend Mr Maules removall to that Parish and I humbly Pray that what I formerly writt concerng that Good Man may be taken into Consideracon and answer'd as soon as is Possible.

If my Illness continues I must Necessarily think of returning to South Brittain for two or three months In which time tis probable I may recover my Strength and health to a very good degree and

³ On January 25, 1712, William Guy, in deacon's orders, was admitted into the service of the Society as curate and schoolmaster of Charleston, he having produced "ample Certificates of his good Life and Behaviour and ability in teaching School." See *Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.)*, II, January 25, 1711/12, No. 6, pp. 161-162. Guy, who had served as an usher in the London Workhouse (see *S.P.G. MSS A 7*, No. 2, p. 28), found on his arrival in Charleston that a schoolmaster had already been established in the place, with an allowance of £60 from the government. He served with Johnston in Charleston from 1712 to 1713 and, receiving his priest's orders in 1713, returned to the colonies where, after service at St. Helen's and Christ Church, South Carolina, and Narragansett, he remained at St. Andrew's, South Carolina from 1719 to 1751. For an account of his service there, see Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro . . .*, pp. 61-65.

for this reason I humbly beg you will propose my case to the most Illustrious Society Nothing but Invincible Necessity shall make me Return and tho' I had never so much leave yet I am resolved never to Stirr till I leave one upon the Spott to Supply my Place.

I delivered your letter to the Honourble Mr Craven our Governr concerning Mr Norris & Ross Reynolds and am sorry I cannot as yett give you a full acct of these matters It being Impossible for me to manage any publick business whilst I am under this Unhappy confinement.

Nevertheless in regard my present Sickness seems not to be unto Death. I hope in a little time with Gods Assistance to be able to give you a more Exact and Pticular acct of things.

I pray my most humble thanks and Duty may be made acceptable to the most Reverend President & the rest of the Members of the most Illustrious Society for their Late undeserved & Extraordinary Favours both with Respect to my self my son and a Curate & be well Assured Sr that I shall make it the Great Care & Business of my Life to Endeavour to please them by a faithfull and Conscientious Discharge of my duty.

The Great Mortality here is Lately abated none having died this Fortnight so that I could not have fallen Sick in a more Lucky Season for my Parishioners.

I am in so very great pain that I am able to dictate no more & therefore Leaving my wife to add what is further necessary to be Imparted out of my letter to her I crave Leave to Subscribe my self tho' by my sons hand

Hond Sr

Your most humble and obedient Servant

Gideon Johnston

I reed the Common Prayer Books by the Last Ship that came in and am very sorry your bookseller mistook the Old for the new Version of Psalms. I intend to dispose of them in the Country Parishes where the old Version is generally made use of but I know not how to value them you having told me nothing of the Prime Cost or price of them in any of your letters so that I must goe to work by Guess You may depend upon it that I will Secure the Societys mony and Since this Unhappy Mistake has fallen out in Lending the old Version for the new I Pray I may have a hundred wth Brady & Tates version and half of them bound in Calf skin for

the better sort of People in my Parish I hope the most Illustrious Society will not forgett the Honble Mr Craven our Governr who I beleve will prove a very good friend to the Church he seems to be ambitious of the most Illustrious Societys favour & I believe he will deserve it.⁴

VIII

In the letter of May 28, 1712, Johnston deals largely with the Indian question, for the first time making the instruction of the Indians an issue. A certain Ross Reynolds has been victimized as one who would teach the Indians gratis, but he denies that he ever so said. The Commissary offers the conditions under which he will himself go to the Yamassees.

The Commissary, in cruising around through the vacant parishes, finds that the books of the Society have been largely lost or "miserably mangled and abused." Jurisdictional difficulties arise when he tries to secure the books of Mr. Maitland's parish because the people insist that the books belong to the parish and are not to be removed.

The Commissary again reverts to the importance of the governor and the difficulties of interpreting the Church Acts of the Legislature which seem to be far from clear in their provisions. He has succeeded in getting the attorney general to prosecute some members for profaneness and immorality but the frontier spirit evidently prevented frequent convictions.

Comissary Johnston, Letter to Jno Chamberlaine Esqr

Hond Sir

Charles Town May 28th 1712

Mr Ross Reynolds, whom you mention'd in Yours to the Governour and Clergy came to me upon my Letter on Saturday the 10th Instant; and Saies that he never taught any Indians gratis, nor was he ever in a condition to do it, having nothing to live upon but his Industry: and he wonders that Mr Norris should make any such wrong representations, to the most Illustrious Society. He owns indeed that he taught three Indian Traders some gotten on

⁴ Commissary Johnston to the Secretary, Charles Town, South Carolina, March 25, 1712, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 511-515. This letter was reported to the Society at its meeting of October 10, 1712, in abstract form. See Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, October 10, 1712, No. 6, p. 221.

Indian Women to read a little and to Speak English, for which he was paid according to Contract, but that he taught any more Indian Children either gratis or otherwise he Absolutely denies.

He told me farther that he had but a very Slight an [*sic*] superficial Acquaintance wth Mr Norris, & seem'd to be greatly Surprized that Mr Norris shou'd propose his going among the Indians to the most Illustrious Society wthout ever having consulted him about it beforehand. And when I asked him, whether he was willing on Encouragement of a good Sallary to Undertake that Employment for some time, in order to Instruct their Children, his Answer was that he might have 60 nay 100£ Sterling per Annum he would not engage in it, being resolv'd to Stay where he then was, and to get his bread, after a more Easy manner among the white ffolks whose Children in many respects wanted Instruction as much as the Indians did. He likewise Added that Mr Norris owed him Seven Months Schooling for his Son & that if ever he taught anyone gratis it was him. And the Reason was because he could not help it.

This is a true acct of what passed between Mr Ross Reynolds and me and finding by his Resolution of not going among the Indians that there was no room for a debate I gave Neither the Governour nor my Bretheren any further trouble about him, he confeses the receipt of a letter from Mr Norris together wth some Paper Inclosed in it from you by the same Ship that brought your last to me, but Says he was so Angry when he read it, that he tore it, though he has your Paper still by him.

As for Mr Norris himself I can as yet Learn Nothing that is either certain or Material concerng his Character; and therefore I will give you no furthr trouble at Present about him.

You know Sir, I was always willing to Receive the Most Illustrious Societys Commands before I was their Missionary: but now I own myself to be under the Strictest Obligations to them, and they have an undoubtd right to command me to any thing that lies in my Power: If therefore the going to the Indians, or visiting the Parishes, or seeing what condition the Books given to the Ministers of Each Parish are in, or any other Service That I can Render them is expected from me, I desire I may have positive Instructions to that Purpose because otherwise some unreasonable People wou'd be Apt to take Offence, and say that I was too pragmatic and Officious. Many of the Societys books in the Vacant Parishes are

lost; and the few that are left are miserably Mangled and Abused. I Endeavour'd upon Mr Maitlands Death to Secure the Books he had, till a Minister was sent to that Parish; But some of the Parishioners said I was too Officious and Busied myself in things that did not belong to me, having no orders from the Most Illustrious Society to concern myself in such matters.

How great a friend our New Governour will be to the Church or my self I can't tell nor can I yet Confirm the Character, I gave you of Mr Hart, till I see more of him.

Sr Nathanll Johnson, our good friend and my constant Benefactor, is now in a Sick & Languishing condition, and its thought will hardly recover. And among all those that have the Church continually in their Mouths, few of them have any concern either for it or Religion. More than as it Serves for a Cloak to carry on their Worldly Designs. Nevertheless Coll Broughton is never to be forgotten, who is a truly good Man, and Christian, and one that not only respects and honours all Clergy men after an uncomon manner but does all that he can to make them Easy & to promote the Interest of Religion among us. He is now the Revd Mr Maules Parishioner, as he was Lately Dr Le Jau's and if they have said nothing hitherto concerning this Gentleman, I am sure both of them can confirm what I say.

The Assembly is now Sitting, and I have shewd some of the Topping Members so many palpable Inconveniences in their Church Acts that they are resolv'd to make some Amendments in them. But to think Everything can be done that is necessary at once is what cannot be expected in this place Especially where the Governour is not a Zealous and Active Man in these Matters, what the Assembly will do for me I can't tell. Some Members are disoblged on the account of Mr Gignillat. But let the Success be what it will I am resolv'd never to give them no further Trouble Concerning my self. I have given my Lord of London an acct of Mr Gignilat, and his Affairs, and tis probable his Lordship will if he thinks it proper and Necessary send you an Abstract of it.

I have used my utmost Endeavours both in and out of the Pulpit to promote a general prosecution of those that are guilty of Immorality & Prophaness, in this Province; and I thank God my Attempts this way has not been Altogether fruitless and unsuc-

cessfull. It was my Misfortune to be Sick and confind to my bed whilst the Prosecution lasted; Otherwise I would do all that I cou'd to have it carried on with greater Severity. Nor did I fail to Expostulate wth the Judge & Attorney General Concerning the Remissness of this Prosecution in Several Instances; In the mean time Since this Necessary work is once begun, if it please God to Spare me life and health, I will do all that in me lies, to bring it to Some Perfection.

I cannot for my life, yet procure an Exact List of all the Old & Young of this Parish, or any thing like it, till I have more leisure for it by going from house to house wch I cannot do till I have a Curate; but I have sent an acct of our dead and the Number of Communicants on Each Sacrament Day from the 9th Aprill 1711 to Aprill the 20th 1712, as also of all those that were Baptized within that time.

If the most Illustrious Society would have me go to the Yam-mousea and other Neighbouring Indians and to know what disposition they are in with Respect to Christianity, It will in this case be of great use to me to have a letter of recommendation to the Governour and Council and to the Speaker of the Lower House of Assembly prayg them that I may want no due Encouragemt or Assistance they can give me on this occation.

This I say, upon Supposition I have any tolerable Health, but Indeed since the Sicknes has abated here I decline Sensibly, and have had Several fits of the Gout or rather Rheumatism, Since my last, Not to say any thing of my loss of Appetite, dejection of Spirit & a body greatly Amaciated. I am resolved to Stay as long as Possibly I can without running the manifest hazard of my life. But when I see no Prospect of recovering any Health without returning home for some little time then I hope the most Illustrious Society will find no fault with me for betaking myself to this last Expedient. I have proposed my case to my Reverend Bretheren who far from diswading me from this Resolution, having unanimously promised to Supply my Cure Punctually by Turns, till the Curate Arrives, wch the most Illustrious Society have order'd me. This is what I have mention'd in my last but lest that might mis-carry I think it not Improper to repeat it in this.

I will not add to the length of this letter by making an Apology

for it. I will only say that I am wth the greatest thankfullness for the many Extraordinary favours I have recd both to the most Illustrious Society in general and you in Pticular, Hond Sr

A most humble & Obedient Servant
Gideon Johnston

Mr Taylour has been to
Preach at his Parish these
two last Sundays but is not yet
chosen his Election is to come
on the 4th of next month.¹

IX

Writing on June 17, 1712, the Commissary gives a most important description of the election of a minister, as it was conducted in the Colony by popular vote. It was possible to secure Mr. Taylor's election, after his ordination in England and appointment by the Society to fill this particular post by the request of the people themselves, only by shaming the opposition into a position of neutrality. He had been a Dissenter and was opposed by "all the Arts that were made use of both underhand and above board by the sectaries of all kinds and some unhappy half faced Churchmen." Captain William Bull, the leader of the opposition, felt under no obligation to elect Mr. Taylor despite the fact that he was one of those who asked the Society for a minister. The recital of how the Commissary overcame Captain Bull is rather amusing, especially his conclusion that the Church will not flourish in South Carolina until popular elections are done away with.

The remainder of the letter deals with the Commissary's illnesses, his determination to go home for the "air of England," and the promise of his brother clergymen alternately to fill his pulpit and to stand surety for his debts.

Comissary Johnston his Letter from Charles Town South Carolina
Hond Sr June 17th 1712

I have but very little to Impart to you since my last Mr Taylour on Wednesday the 4th Instant in Spite of all the Arts that were

¹ Commissary Johnston to John Chamberlayne, Charles Town, May 28, 1712, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 7, No. 19, pp. 526-533. This letter was reported to the Society in abstract form on October 10, 1712, see Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, October 10, 1712, No. 13, p. 224.

made use of both underhand and above board by the Sectaries of all kinds & some unhappy half faced Church men was Elected into St Andrew's Parish Nemine Contradicente Tho' Almost half the Number that was at the Election were Neuterall and would vote neither for nor against him. Among whom Capt Wm Bull (one that subscribed the letter home for a Minister) was the head man and Ring Leader I was doubtfull of the Success of that Election and therefore I was present at it; and It is well I was, for had I not taken abundance of Pains in perswading Mr Bull and his Party to the contrary they were resolved to Vote against him but upon my representing to them the Injustice of using a man so ill against whom they had not the least cause of Objection and the Shame and Scandall of such a Proceedure & what a dishonour the rejecting a Minister purposely sent to them at their own request would reflect on my Lord Bishop of London & the most Illustrious Society, they were by this means prevailed upon to Stand Neuter & so Mr Taylor Gained his Point. They are a sad crew he has to deal with and I pray God to support & comfort him for nothing but an Invincible Patience & a fixt resolution of doing good can enable any Ministr to hold out for any time or to live among them, the Plain truth is the Church here can never flourish or prosper till the Church Commissioners rediculous Conge de Eslire and Popular Elections are quite taken away for this I could give many Reasons but the most Illustrious Society has given a very Substantiall one in the Printed acct Pa: 75 that the Ministers will be too much subjected to the Pleasure of the People. I know it is Impossible to Settle this Church upon a better foot under the present Government But I think a much more short and ready way may be found out for this purpose of which however I will say nothing till I have the honour of Seeing you in London if God is pleased to Spare me so long in the mean time all that wee have to do is to pray and Lament in Secret & bear with silence and Patience what we cant at present mend.

As for my own part I still decline in my health nor does the present Prospect I have of things add a little to the dejection of my Spirits & therefore I must of Necessity return by the next vessell that Sails from hence In the mean time I have sent my son before me in order to be sent to Schooll for a year or two till he be fitt for some business or other. He has nothing now to depend or

Subsist upon but that Kind present the most Illustrious Society was pleased to make me for his use. And I hope you will do me the favour to give my wife an order for the receipt of it who will take care to Apply it Punctually for his Use according to the Societys Intentions.

I had some hopes that the Assembly would have done something for me this Session but now that prospt is over since all they did for me was to advance me Six Months Sallary before hand. This is Eating the Calf in the Cowes Belly and seing no likelyhood of Extricating my self out of my present Difficulties not to say anything of the recovery of my Health wch with me is abundantly superior to all other Considerations It will be absolutely necessary for me to withdraw for some time till I recover my health and get out of debt. Never was there a more loving United Clergy than we are here. And blessed be God I sensibly feel the Good effects of this Harmony in Pticular my bretheren having Unanimously Promis'd to be bound for my debts and to Supply my Cure in my absence till a Curate arrived. Tis happy for me that I have such Sincere ffrriends in the time of my Distresse for without their Assistance I should never be able to leave this place. This is what I partly Hinted at before but for fear letters might Miscarry I repeat it here.

The Assembly have settled a Schoolmaster in this Town one Mr Douglass newly come from Philadelphia and an Usher as a beginning or Essay towds greater Matters. The one at 60£ and the other at 30£ of this Country mony and they have Likewise by Act adjusted the Schoolmastrs Wages at 3£ P Ann for Every Boy that he Instructs either in Latin or Greek. They have Given Mrs Marston likewise 70£ to sett up a Small Shop with to maintain her family and they have given a Poor Widow I also recommended to them 40£ and a Brief. Something also is done with Relation to Parochiall affairs, but the Clerk of the Lower House who has the Acts being Sick, I cant Exactly tell what they are as yet. As soon as my Son is gone off, I intend to goe into the Country for the Benefit of the Air and to relax and unbend my mind a little in hopes this may be of some advantage to me; & my kind Bretheren have promised to change some turns with me for that Purpose. In the mean time let me be in wt state or Condition of Life God is best pleased with whether Rich or Poor in Sickness & in Health

I shall never cease to pray for the Prosperity and Success of the most Illustrious Society and shall to the utmost of my Power Endeavour to convince them with how great Respect & Gratitude I am to them & you Honoured Sr

A most humble & most Obedient Servant

Gideon Johnston

On Saturday last Mr Taylor has removed from my house to his parish.¹

X

In a letter of November 6, 1712, the secretary acknowledged Johnston's letters of November 16, 1711, March 25, 1712, May 28, 1712, and June 17, 1712, and expressed solicitude over the Commissary's "bad state of health" but was hopeful that a measure of recovery would "prevent the fatigue and Expence of your coming over to England." Further, the secretary and the Society were "very well Pleased wth your full and Pticular acct of things, so far as they concern them."¹

On February 6, 1713, the Commissary announced his intention to sail on a vessel to depart in a month's time, presumably writing in the hope of an earlier vessel to carry his letter.

Commissary Johnston To the Secretary

February 6 1712 [1713]

Sir.

Such are my Circumstances, and, above all, so great my Present Want of Health, That I must be forced to return with that Ship that brought Mr Osborne Hither, That Vessell is to Sail in a Month's time. So that I shall defer to give you any Particular Account of Matters here, till I have the Honour of waiting upon the most Illustrious Society after my Arrival.

I know I entirely lie at the Mercy of the most Illustrious Society for my Salary from them having Never Yet had their Express

¹ Commissary Johnston to the Secretary, Charles Town, June 17, 1712, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 7, No. 16, pp. 518-523. The letter was reported to the Society on October 10, 1712, see Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, October 10, 1712, No. 7, pp. 221-222.

¹ Secretary to Commissary Johnston, London, November 6, 1712, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 7, pp. 588-589.

Leave for Returning Tho' I often wrote to the fformer Secretary & (if I mistake not) to you for that purpose But there is no more Room left for Delay or for Expecting the Society's Consent being at this time tormented with the Sciatica or the Rheumatism, and the Gravel in the Kidneys, wch puts me to Excessive pain But this will best come from my Bretheren who know what I Suffer. In the meantime you must be contented with this General Account of Things, till my Arrival at London, puts me into a Capacity of giving the most Illustrious Society a more Minute & Exact one both of my Self and of all other Matters relateing to the State of Religion in this Province, by my Credential & Such other Private Letters as my Bretheren Shall think fit to Charge me with.

It is with Great pain, That I write at this time And therefore Pardon me for breaking off this Abruptly and Assuring you that the most illustrious Society has not a More faithfull Mission, Nor the Church a Minister more Carefull of its Discipline & Constitutions, Than Sir

Your most humble & Obedt Servt

Gideon Johnston²

XI

At the regular meeting of the Society on June 3, 1713, the case of Commissary Johnston, "lately Arrived from Charles Town in South Carolina,"¹ was discussed. A brief "Representation from the Clergy of South Carolina," written on March 4, 1712, pled his cause. His fellow clergymen acknowledged first that the standing rules of the Society expressly forbade his leaving South Carolina, without the permission of the Society. But the merits of his case, and his many and grievous difficulties convinced them that his action was born of desperation. Not only were his colleagues willing to supply his cure during his absence, but they had actually raised the funds for his trip, as Johnston's correspondence shows.² In a letter to the Bishop of London, Governor Charles Craven

² Commissary Johnston to the Secretary, Charleston, S. C., February 6, 1712/13, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 8, No. 10, pp. 343-345.

¹ Journal of the S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, June 3, 1713, No. 1, p. 292.

² See Clergy of South Carolina to the Society, Charleston, S. C., March 4, 1712/13, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 8, No. 4, pp. 422-423. Recorded in Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, June 3, 1713.

showed marked respect for the Society and an appreciation of its work. He asked for the return of the Commissary whose departure from Carolina occasioned "all the regrett & just concern thats fairly due a person of his merit."³

The Commissary must have been so ill when he arrived in London that he could not report in person, for on June 2, 1713, his son, Richard Johnston, wrote to request the Secretary of the Society to call upon his father whose lodgings were "at Mrs Parsons a Widdow next Door to the White horse in Exeter Change Court in the Strand."⁴

Just before Johnston's departure for England, the clergy of Carolina had set forth some of their problems in a brief ten-point program. These "Particulars," to be explained and expanded by the Commissary after he reached England, were a businesslike summary of the state of affairs.⁵ Expanded into a memorial by the Commissary, they were placed before the Society on July 19, 1713, and then referred to a committee for consideration. On September 18, 1713, notice was given that the memorial would be taken up at the next meeting of the Society,⁶ and, on October 2, 1713, final consideration was given.⁷ As enlarged by Johnston, the instructions are, in effect, a new document, even though he used the headings of the original brief.

At this point it is fitting to review the status of the Anglican Church and cite additional reasons for Johnston's difficulties. The laicization of the Church in England was still in process during the years of the Commissary's stay in South Carolina. Both at the time of the Revolution of 1688 and at the accession of George I, the English state compelled the Anglican Church to conform to the new political regimes. In both instances, a body of Nonjurors, who refused to conform, was created. The case of Bishop Francis Atterbury (1662-1732), who died in exile, is illustrative of that of a number of other men who refused to support the changes in government and worked for the return of the exiled Stuarts.

³ Fulham Palace MSS (L.C. Trans.), South Carolina, No. 233.

⁴ Mr. Richard Johnston to the Secretary, London, June 2, 1713, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 8, No. 32, pp. 34-35.

⁵ For these "Particulars," see Instructions from the Clergy of South Carolina brought by Commissary Johnston, Charles Town, S. Carolina, March 4, 1712/13, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 8, No. 3, pp. 459-461.

⁶ Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, September 18, 1713, No. 5, p. 310.

⁷ *Ibid.*, October 2, 1713, No. 4, p. 312.

Although no explanation is given in the memorandum of the Commissary, it is well known that the government in England and also that in South Carolina operated in a climate of opinion in which the limitation of the power of the Anglican Church was recognized as sound policy. The Commissary complained of the strictures imposed on the establishment in the Colony. It is clear to us, if it was not entirely so to him, that these limitations were not the result of a clash of personalities, but of established policy, supporting a degree of latitudinarianism and lay control. However friendly the governor, the chief justice, or other notable officials or wealthy planters might be to the Commissary, they nevertheless would continue to limit his authority.

The Assembly Act of 1704 establishing the Anglican Church in South Carolina had created such violent protests on both sides of the water that it was repealed about two years later, and a new Church Act was passed at the same time which was in effect during Johnston's whole stay. The saintly Dr. Francis Le Jau described the status in 1707: "I thought all the great noise . . . was grounded upon true Zeal for the Glory of God. . . . But I assure you it is far from it, revenge, self interest, engrossing of trade, places of any profit and things of that nature are the Motive that gives a turn . . . to our Affairs."⁸ The "topping men" in South Carolina were satisfied with a Church which they could largely control and which made no pietistical demand on their way of life.

The Commissary's success is to be found in the fact that Anglicanism as described in his memorandum remained the official faith until the Revolution, although it was probably never that of the majority of the people. Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and later Methodists had their own churches and carried on constant warfare against the Anglicans. Johnston did much more than complain against his limitations, for he was sleepless in pushing the interests of the Church as far as possible within the limits of the laws. To this end, the education of the young was a winning weapon. And, in fact, after Johnston's death, the Anglican could regard himself as part of the machinery of the state, because the leading planters and clergy formed a united social community.

The memorandum, as well as others of Johnston's papers, refers to the Negro and Indian as the original objectives of the Society.

⁸ S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 3, No. CXLIII, pp. 226-227.

These two groups were submerged by the immense preoccupation of the missionaries and the Society with the planters and white colonists in general. The methods of the Indian trade were such that Johnston was not wanted as an observer and he was refused the place he desired as one of the Indian Commissioners. In the memorandum there is an excellent statement of the problems in the Christianization of the Negroes. The ordinary planter did not wish to sacrifice the time of the Negroes for schooling and Christianization, and dreaded the effects of the Church's program. He feared that rebellion and perhaps massacre might be the results.

In the long view, the Negro did become a Christian. The S.P.G. program in its long-range effect upon Indian and Negro, has been discussed elsewhere.⁹ The Commissary and his successors settled the Church so firmly that it was not shaken when George Whitefield appeared in Carolina from time to time. In the discussions which Whitefield aroused, the religious point of view of the Anglican in South Carolina seemed to be closely identified with that of the Anglican in England. The controversy between orthodoxy and the Deist in England, and that between orthodoxy and Whitefield in South Carolina were carried on with able arguments on both sides.¹⁰ It may be noted here that almost all of the fifty Anglican clergymen who served in South Carolina before the American Revolution had university degrees.

The Instructions of the Clergy of South Carolina given to Mr Johnston on his coming away for England Enlarged and Explained by the said Mr Johnston, and humbly presented to the most Illustrious Society for Propagating the Gospel in fforeign Parts.

The Clergy of South Carolina having at Several Meetings in Charles Town but more particularly on the 4th day of March 1712 laid open their greivances to one another; it was then unanimously resolved to set them down in writing weh was accordingly done under Several heads; and after they were signed by them, they were delivered to me as Instructions, which I was to Explain and

⁹ See Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro . . .*, and by the same author, *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (Philadelphia, 1940).

¹⁰ For the eighteenth-century relationship between churchman and Dissenter before the American Revolution, see Bowes, *op. cit.*, chap. ii, "Churchmen and Dissenters," pp. 13-33.

Enlarge upon as often as I had either Opportunity or Encouragement so to do.

1. As to the first Article contained in the Clergy's Instructions They humbly conceive they have good reason to say that the Episcopal Authority and Jurisdiction is Extreemly deprest if not almost quite sunk in that Province, ffor no one Bishop, no not all the Bps of England can Suspend or deprive an ill Clergyman from his Benefice: And when this Cant be done all other Censures will in all probability weigh but litle wth such a Person.

As little can the Bp protect or do Justice to an opprest or injur'd Minister; Because the Church Commissioners upon complaint of an undue Election can turn him out by declaring it Illegal and consequently void & Null in Spite of all the Bps in the Universe and if this be the case I shall Evidently make it appear from the 3d of an act of Assembly past on the 7th day of June 1712 then it is plain the Clergy do not speak without Book and have just Grounds for what they say.

There was indeed a Law once past in that Province which gave a Certain Number of Lay Commissioners or the Majority of them power to suspend and deprive Ministers for Several causes mentioned in it, but this gave so great Offence at home and particularly to the most Illustrious Society, that it was afterwards repealed. Had they transferred this Power on their most Worthy Bp., who had so exceedingly well deserved of them they would have done but their duty in restoring to him the Exercise of that Power wch he enjoyed in that other part of his Diocess which lay in England; But when it was not permitted them to Enjoy this Branch of the Episcopal Power, they were never so honest as to restore it to him to whom it belonged. On the Contrary when they thought their former Attempts had been pretty well forgotten. They have lately reassumed it again in another form under pretence of Judging & determining the legality and validity of the Ministers Elections In short the Presentation and approbation the Institution and Induction, the Suspension & deprivation of Ministers and what else belongs to the Bishop—ordination and confirmation only Excepted, are intirely in the Church Commissioners and Peoples hands: Nor would they ever trouble either Bishop or Society for a Supply of Clergymen, but that, generally speaking they are not otherwise to be had: And how little they regard such

but in cases of necessity may be easily seen by the Treatment and Opposition Mr. Johnston met with the regularly and canonically sent thither by the Bp of London with a Particular recommendation from the most Illustrious Society at the Earnest request of the Governour and the Vestry of St Philips Parish.

The many hard words that have been frequently bestowed on the late most worthy Bp of London when His Right was occasionally Asserted and Defended by any of his Clergy are a further Proof of some Mens Aversion to Episcopacy whatever they may pretend to the Contrary, for at Every turn they accused him for being a Pope, nay worse than the Pope because (as they said) he would feign Extend his Diocess and Authority, farther than the Pope ever did. And they triumphantly added what have we to do with the Bp of London or he with us? must we go to London and the Lord knows where to complain against ill Clergymen, and to prosecute them in the tedious forms of the Ecclesiastical Courts? Wherever Christianity was planted there a Bp was Settled in the Apostolical and primitive times, And since we are thus Neglected in this respect, It is but reason that we should do Justice to our Selves.

Little will the Most Illustrious Society imagin who those Persons are that talk at this rate; tho' at the same time they wholly attribute the Settlement of the Church in that Province to themselves. Whether there be more falsehood and vanity than truth in this Assertion I will not now inquire into or determin; tho' I cannot forbear to say that this seems in my Opinion to be a Tacit Libel and Reflection upon the rest of the Church of England Gentlemen in that Country: whose known Zeal for the Church and their great respect for the Clergy deserves a much better treatment. However I will industriously conceal their Names, because it is not their Persons but their Principles and busy restless tempers who would have a finger in everything that I dislike and find fault with for certainly little peace or quietness can be expected in that place where People can't confine themselves to their own proper Affairs, and the Business of their several callings and Employments but must be right or rong meddling with that which does in no wise belong to them.

ffar be it from me to charge the whole Government or Legislature or the Body of our People with the ill consequences of these

Church Acts, as if they were their proper act and deed whereas it is Certain they were contrived and carryed on but by a very few. Nor can it be any wonder that the Governr and Assemblys for the time being should pass them without the least Scruple or Apprehension; because they only considered the good things that were in them, without being able to pry into the dark designs of those who contrived & drew them: nor could they discover those Stings that were so Artfully conceal'd from them under plausible pretences and Expressions.

ffrom hence it may be infer'd that some of the Laity as well in that as in other parts of Her Majestys dominions are for depressing the Clergy by all Methods they can think of, and making them as liable to their resentments as they can. This indeed is a most Mischievous and fatal piece of Policy, and must very often End in the Eternal Ruin of both Minister & People. But let the Consequence be what it will nothing less than the intire Subjection of the Clergy can go down with some of our unhappy People without in the least considering that their Scheme of Church Government is in many cases, contrary to the Scriptures, the Cannons and Rubrick and the Lords Proprietors Charter nor do's it seem to interfere less with the Union Act, which, If I mistake not Establishes the Church of England in its full Extent and Latitude in all the Territories and Dominions belonging to the Crown of England.

This is the State of the Church of South Carolina at present; and I am pretty sure it is not much better in the other Plantations if not a great deal worse in some of them. in vain therefore it is to think of Sending Bishops abroad till the Episcopal Power & Jurisdiction be settled upon a better foot among them, and it will be a very hard matter, nay I may say almost impossible to perswade some people to do this, till they are forced to it by one General Law here at home. When this is done then Episcopacy will of Course take place of all those wild and rambling Scheems of Church Government which are but so many senseless Satyrs upon our Constitution at home; and then the Clergy will under the Influence and protection and Spiritual Governrs & Superiors be encouraged to do their duty with Cheerfulness and resolution, and as they shall not Escape Punishmt when they deserve it, so they will be always Skreen'd and sheltered by their Bishops from the Insults & Malice of wicked and unreasonable men. This is what I

have to say with reference to the first Article in my Instructions, upon which I have insisted a little longer than ordinary; because it is one of the greatest greivances we labour under, and because several of the following Articles are in a good measure reducible to it.

2. The Conversion of Slaves, which is the Second Article is considering the present Circumstances of things scarcely possible. Tis true indeed that an odd Slave here and there may be Converted when a Minister has Leisure and Opportunity for so doing but this seldom happens. . . . But alas! as the Opportunitys are neither great nor frequent for carrying on so good a Work so the Success must be little and inconsiderable in comparison of what might be expected because there are so many rubbs and impediments that lye in the way.¹¹

1st The Slaves have no time to be instructed by the Minister but on the Lord's day: and then he has work enough from the White folk on his hands. . . .

2dly The Plantations are so many and so remote and distant from one another that the Slaves can't be well Assembled together for their Instruction. . . .

3dly The masters of Slaves are generally of Opinion that a Slave grows worse by being a Christian. . . .

4thly The Legislature do's not countenance or Encourage a work of this Importance as much as it should and could. . . .

5thly There are many Planters who to free themselves from the trouble of feeding and cloathing their Slaves allow them one day in the week to clear ground, & plant for themselves as much as will cloath and Subsist them and their familys. In order to this some Masters give their Slaves Saturday, some half that day, & others Sunday only. . . .

Thus I have given a short account of those more obvious impediments that lye in the way to the Slaves Conversion, nor indeed do I see any likelyhood humanely speaking, how this necessary work, so shamefully and Scandalously neglected hitherto can be carried on with any great hope of Success if the legislature does not promote and Encourage it by proper Laws to be enacted for that Purpose. . . . The ignorance therefore of these poor Slaves in the

¹¹ The five-point discussion on the conversion of slaves, is reproduced and discussed in Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro* . . . , pp. 5-8. They are, therefore, here only indicated in outline.

principles of Christianity in a Christian Country and under a Christian Governmt is not so much their fault as their Unhappiness in falling into the hands of such ill Masters who not only neglect to instruct them but scoff at those that attempt it. . . .

3. The 3d Article consists of two parts one of which relates to the clergy's Institution and Induction and the other to the Naming and Chooseing the Clerks and Sextons in Each Parish.

As to the last part of this Article it has been in some measure taken notice of already; nevertheless I will here give a brief Account of the Carolina way of Instituting and Inducting and then shall leave it to the Judgment of the most Illustrious Society whether it be not as inconvenient in itself as it is injurious to the Constitution & discipline of the Church of England.

When a Minister (whether he be sent or a Strowler) desires to be admitted into a Parish, The Church Commissioners are Assembled, which takes up some time. when a board is made wch must consist at the least of Eleven Members, then the Minister is called for and obliged to produce his Public letters, Testimonials, and licences if any he has. After these are perused and the Person is Approved of, then the Commissioners are pleased to grant an order in the nature of a Conge d Ellire, to the Parishioners of that Parish for which the Minister is designed. In this order which must be read two several Sundays in the time of divine Service before the Election, a particular time and place is appointed by the Commissioners wherein the Parishioners are to proceed to an Election, when they meet the Commissioners order is first read, and then they go on and the most Votes carry it for or against the poor Minister, Just as they are in the Humour However none have a right to vote at these Elections but such as are Conformists. After the Election is Ended the Electors must make a return of it under their hands to the Commissioners within two Months after—otherwise it is null and void in Law; and a new Conge must be obtained for a New Election. 3. But tho' all these formalities and difficulties are gott over, & that the Election and return are as exactly made as they should be, yet there is still another aftergame to be played, if the poor Minister has the Misfortune to disoblige any of his Parishioners: for the least trifle, the least accident, nay the most innocent as well as Justifiable & necessary thing may give offence to some unreasonable Men—and in this case, it is but complaining

of an undue Election and making a Party among the Commissioners and then the work is done. I am not perhaps altogether ignorant of the true author of this fine Scheme, but being resolved to name no names, nor to point at any particular Person, I will only observe that if this be not Institution and Induction, Suspension and deprivation disguised & set off in another form and in odd and uncouth Expressions I confess I know nothing of these matters & my confidence and ignorance are equally gross and inexcusable.

The other thing that comes next to be considered in this Article is what relates to the choice of Clerks and Sextons in each Parish. One might reasonably Expect, that instead of lessening or takeing away those poor Remains of Rights and Priveledges which are left to the Clergy in England, those that go abroad upon the Mission shou'd for their greater Encouragement have new additions made to them in the plantations. But it is plain by the new Schemes of Church Government Erected in the Transmarine parts; that our Constitution at home is, in the Opinion of our fforeign Legislators all wrong for if this be not the Case, why are the Poor Missionaries stript and divested of those Priveledges which their Bretheren Enjoy in England. A Minister in South Carolina, has no more to do in the Election of a Clerk and Sexton, than any other Common Vestry man; and if the Person pitcht upon be never so notorious and publick an offender yet if the Majority of the Vestry will have it so, he must be the Person in Spite of all the Bishops and Ministers in the whole world. Tis true in some Parishes in England, it is Customary for the Parishioners to present their Clerk and chuse their Sexton tho the naming and presenting the former is directly contrary to the Cannons; and I will venture to say, that from the begining it was not so. But how this Custom was introduced, whether by no residence or by the Sloath and lazyness of the Incumbents or by their inability thro' the Scantiness of their Circumstances to Assert their Rights against the united Purses of a whole Parish I will not venture to determine. But let this be as it will, yet the Bishops Licence was to be obtained; otherwise the Clerk was not qualified for the discharge of his office; And if the Incumbent had not a negative in his own right, yet he was sure of one in his Bishop, if he had anything that was material wch could be objected against the Person so presented. But in Carolina there is

not the least reserve for the Episcopal Power in this Case; for all is in the P[e]ople or their representatives in the Vestry: which seems to be so much the harder; in that the Minister (whose Servant and attendant the Clerk is in all the Publick offices of Religion) has not the same liberty that the Poorest Man alive has of chusing such a Servant as is most proper and convenient for him, but must have one forc't upon him whether he will or not. Chap. 26. in an act past 1706.

In like Manner they have by Law, vested the Church and Church yard in the Clerk, he having the fee the Minister should have for breaking up the ground in either place, it is well known that all Churches & their Yards being Legally dedicated and set apart for Religious uses, are in a more peculiar Manner the Ministers ffreehold and in right of these they are qualified to vote tho' they have no personage houses or Glebes to intitle them to it. This, they that are so fond of their Scheme of Church Government in Carolina are not so confident as to deny; and to Lessen and Extenuate the blunder they have been guilty of this way, they say, that it was by a mistake or oversight in the church Act, that the Clerk had that perquisite and consequently the Church and Churchyard vested in him—Act for ascertaining ffees &c.

4. The 4th Article in the Instructions is that there are great abuses in that Province in granting of Licences even to some Mechanick Persons to Marry People.

It is certain at least I take it for granted that the Lords Proprietors, and the Governours Commissioned by them cannot Exercise a greater power in granting Licences, than the King or Queen of Great Britain for the time being Exercises at home; where no Bishop is debarr'd or Excluded from granting Licences to all such as shall in a regular and canonical way ask for them. But the Case is otherwise in S. Carolina and in all the other Plantations abroad; the Governrs of the Provinces having intirely Engros't this Right to themselves. The Cause of Complaint in this respect would indeed be less were that due precaution used that is necessary in granting these Licences; but the Governrs, and their Secretaries are very great Strangers to this thing; by which means Poligamy and incestuary Marriages are often countenanced for want of Care & a just share of skill in these Matters This we that are abroad know from our own Experience and tho' we have often Licences directed

to us yet upon inquiry we find them not practicable which creates us a great deal of trouble and ill will.

As to that part of this Article which mentions the granting of Licenses to Meehanicks it must be chiefly understood of the Anabaptist Teachers all of whom are Mechanicks in that Province the one being a Ship Carpenter, and the other a Tallow Chandler, But our Governours make no distinction, that being formerly the constant custom for want of a Church of England Minister and they are resolved to make themselves Easy tho' to the Manifest prejudice and disadvantage of the Missionaries and contrary to the practice here at home. It is certain the Governrs Gratify the Secretaries by this Means but whether they do not contribute to the continuance of our divisions, and to the keeping up the Separation between us and the dissenters by this Method is what is left to the Most Illustrious Society to judge.

5. The 5th Article in the Instructions concerns the Maintenance of the Clergy which indeed is truly an object of the Societys charitable consideration.

It is hard to say what Method is most proper for their releif, as to this point. But that one hundred pounds of that Country money are Scarce Equivalent to 30£ in London is a truth as we are convinced to our Sorrow and sadly lament. I remember the other day I was at the Carolina Coffee house that a Carolina Merchant was offered a Consingment of 350 Negros, at £22 Sterling a piece to be returned for England or paid there as the Merchant pleased. But tho the Current Price of Negro's is there £65 Each, one with another yet the Merchant would not venture upon this Bargain, This is matter of fact and sufficiently proves what the Clergy say as to this matter in their Instructions.

Whether to recommend the Clergys deplorable Case to the Lords Proprietors first or the Queen, I can't tell but this I am sure of that the Country thinks they are well provided for; and tho' our own dear bought Experience convinces us, that this is not true; yet for fear of creating ill will to ourselves we are obliged to say (and indeed it is to a great degree true) that considering the Infancy of that Colony we are much better provided for than in most other parts of the main. But the Misfortune is, the Name of 100 & 200 Pounds sounds so big, tho' it goes but a very little way in the Maintenance of a family at any tolerable rate, where English Goods

are generally sold at 300 P cent profit and very often at 4 & 500 P cent, and such is the value the Generality of People set upon their clergy that they think the least thing they possess is rather too Much than enough. It were to be wisht that the Clergy were paid in Rice at the Currt price, and that they by the Parliaments taking off the Enumeration on that Commodity might have the Liberty of transporting their share by their factors where they might hope to meet with the best market but as this is a thing scarce to be hoped for, so I know not any other method that is more proper than applying to the Lords Proprietors, who Phaps at the Instance & request of the most Illustrious Society may be prevailed upon either to grant something to the Clergy out of their Revenue or to press the People in Carolina to make some better Provision for them; But indeed the best thing of all would be to transplant us home after we had served for some considerable time abroad, for then we could the more cheerfully bear with the hardships and Difficulties we groan under, had we but the least hope or prospect of this kind.

6 The 6th Article is matter of fact; and therefore it needs no farther Explanation and so is the

7th as will appear by 5 of the Act past on the 7th of June 1712.

8. The 8th Article is already spoken to under the first and third and therefore the

9. Ninth Article comes next to be considered; and in order to make out what the clergy say in it, the most Illustrious Society is humbly referred to 77 of the aforementioned Act.

10. The 10th and last Article is so plain & Evident in itself when compared with our Constitution here at home that it seems perfectly unnecessary to add any thing more by way [of] Explanation to it.¹²

¹² Articles 6 through 10 in the original "Particulars" designate the difficulties in a sentence for each. Article 6 protests the fact that the Carolina minister has no negative in the vestry; Article 7, a colonial provision requiring ministers to refund money received "if by Sickness or any other accident they should be obliged to go off within two years after their coming here"; Article 8 objects to the fact that "Election to a Parish may be disputed whenever any Troublesome . . . Persons have a fancy to it"; Article 9 refers to the provision requiring departing ministers to "put the Parsonage Houses into good repair"; and Article 10, noting that "the Assemblys do often take upon themselves to make Lawes relating to Ecclesiastical Persons and Affairs," urges "the Necessity that at least some of their [the clergy's] representations should be consulted before any such Laws are passed." See S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 8, No. 3, pp. 459-461.

Thus I have gone through the several Articles in the Instructions which I have set in as clear a light as I cou'd ; And I only begg leave to take notice of two or three more particulars that the most Illustrious Society may see the Spirit and Temper of some People among us and the ill Effects of our present fform of Church Governmt in this Province.

1. I was very desirous to be appointed a Commissioner of the Indian Trade that I might in that Post have an opportunity of informing my self about the Indians belonging to us, and of knowing the disposition they might be in from time to time, with respect to Christianity and whatsoever discoveries I could make this way I was resolved to communicate to the Society, that they might take such measures as they thought fit, for their Conversion. To gain this point, which I had so much at heart, I spoke to one or two ffriends and to the Speaker of the Lower house of Assembly who promised me their Interest, and believ'd I should not be denied a request that was grounded upon so good and Christian a Motive. But I well knowing their Suspicious Jealous temper pray'd, that I might be debarred by the Act from all manner of busines belonging to a Commissioner at the board of the Indian trade, but what expressly and directly concerned the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians. This I fancied would clearly take off that averions they would otherwise have to a Clergymans meddling in Secular Affairs: But all my precaution signifies nothing, for let my business or pretence be what it would they were resolved no Minister should ever sit among them.

2. Another thing there is which I think is hard upon the Missionaries and that is the Church wardens Engrossing the whole right of disposing of the offerings to themselves, tho their doing so be directly contrary to the Canons and Rubrick. I have been so ill us'd by some People for Endeavourg to assert this Right, both as Minister and Ordinary of the Place, and such clamours were raised against me about it that I was obliged to drop it, for tho' no man is more willing and ready to Assert the Church and Clergys right than I am yet I have laid this as a certain rule down to myself never to carry things farther, than they will bear.

That the Ministers are the fittest Persons for distributing such Charities, is what Common Sence and reason might teach People to believe were they not extreemly prepossest & prejudiced, for no

man can deny but that to have an opportunity of doing good and relieving the wants of the poor and needy is if not a sure yet a very likely way to gain their Love and Esteem, and to open a way to their hearts. And it is certain when men love our Persons they will be the more easily perswaded by us to do anything that we can in reason ask of them. If this then be the case, I should think it a great piece of Cruelty not to say injustice in the Church wardens to deprive their Minister of an opportunity, (tho he had no right to it otherwise) of doing so much good to the Souls of the Poor; upon whom he can never hope to make a more sensible and lasting impression by his Christian and charitable admonitions than when he is actually feeding and cloathing their Hungry and naked Bodies, & furnishing them with all the other Necessarys and conveniences of life as much as he can.

3. The last thing I shall take notice of is the hard usage I have met with on the Acct of my Clerk: it being I think my undoubted right to order and direct all parts of the Divine Worship and Service in the Church of which Psalmody is no inconsiderable Article, provided I transgress no Canon or Rubrick. But this right, tho' one would imagin at first view, no Layman would contest it with me was nevertheless Encroacht upon and Usurpt by a certain Gentleman and a Lady that shall be nameless, ffor the Clerk was commanded to sing the Psalms as they would have him, which he did; But when I found how the thing was, I orderd him at his Peril to go on in his old way, & he obeyed, This the Gentleman and Lady resented very ill, and threatned him severely if he did not follow their directions but the Clerk still stood his ground. The Lady therefore thinking that a peice of mony would make the most powerful impression upon him, she gave him one if I mistake not and made him large promises of future favours, if he would but oblige her in singing after her way; which accordingly he did upon this I chid him severely, and assured him he and I should part if ever he did the like again; which he promised he never would and told me what Arts & Methods were made use of to frighten and seduce him from his duty. The Gentleman and Lady netled at the Clerk & the opposition I gave them brought the matter before the Vestry, as if it were their undoubted right to command the Clerk, nay & the Minister too in matters relating to the Divine Service in the Church, and he plainly told me that he would make me know, it was so whether I

would or not. To this I answered, that this sort of procedure was contrary to the Cannons and Rubrick; and that a Minister at this rate, was but a mere nose of wax, a vile worthless thing, who was to be instructed every moment by his People what he should do and how he should behave himself in the performance of his Duty and I further added that I was sure whatever his or other People's Notions were of this matter I was in the right; and that neither he nor the whole vestry put together, should command me or my Clerk in any thing that belonged to the publick Service in the Church and I was certain that not only the Lord Bp of London but the most Illustrious Society would wonder that a man of his figure and pretensions should be guilty of so great a blunder. This provoked him to give me a great deal of ill Language, which I patiently bore but woud by no means give up my Right which was the right of the whole Clergy in Effect; nor indeed did one man in the Vestry attempt to second that Gentlemen; so that by that stand I then resolutely made, I have hitherto secured my own and the Clergy's right in this Matter.

These things I have mentioned more at large to shew, what sort of People we have sometimes to deal with; and how much they Envy and Malign us, for that poor bread, the bread of carefulness, we Eat, and the least Priviledge that is left us. The Clergy were Extremely well pleased with my conduct on this occasion, and I had their unanimous thanks for it, at the following meeting. But as Doctor Le Jau was the next neighbouring Minister to me so he Exprest his particular satisfaction in a letter which he writ to me, when this accident happened, before the Clergy met; which Letter will not perhaps be unworthy the Societys perusal if they have time and leisure for it.¹³

XII

The Commissary had been compelled to go to England for reasons of health and finance. His debts and his illness plagued him to the end of his life. This "Memorial" praises the clergymen who went bond for him to the extent of £200 so that he could leave South Carolina. His stay in England was overshadowed by his accumulation of debts which increased in South Carolina, where his wife and three children were, while in England two of his sons were in

¹³ S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 8, No. 11, pp. 476-503.

school. At a later date Sir William Johnson repeatedly pointed out to the Society that the Anglican clergyman was handicapped in his work in the colonies, particularly with the Indians, because of his family ties, whereas the Jesuit, for example, was completely free to deal with his daily problems.¹ The Dissenting minister was often in trade or in some craft as was true of the Baptists in South Carolina. The Commissary, having won over the Presbyterian, Mr. Ebenezer Taylor, to the Anglican Church, was much surprised to find that his convert was a moneylender and had £1,200 out at interest.

Johnston throughout labored to establish the sacerdotal character of the clergy and to divorce them from trade and business. His constant demands for sufficient salary for himself and his fellow clergy have this larger objective in view. His later letters were so complaining in tone because of his own personal need for money that they obscure his vision of an independent and self-respecting clergy for South Carolina. His great merit lay in the fact that he laid the foundation on which others built in the decades after his death.

Mr Johnson's Memoriall

Mr Johnson One of the most Illustrious Societies unworthy Missionaries in South Carolina humbly begs leave to represent the following Particulars to the Said Societies most Serious and Speedy Consideration.

1st Since it is not in his power to make any other Return to his brethren of the Clergy in South Carolina than to Publish their Merit to the world, but more especially to his Superiors, that the thanks of the most Illustrious Society may be given them for their Cheerfullness in Undertaking and their dilligence in Supplying his Cure in his Absence, and he is Still the more obliged to pray for this favour for the readiness they Expressst in raising upon their Bond 200£ to pay his Debts without which it was not possible for him to retire from that Province, tho in the greatest Extremity for want of health. The persons that raised this money were Messrs Maule Bull and Hasle, tho all the rest particularly Dr Le Jau and Mr Jones were willing to take Share of this burthen upon them,

¹ See "Sir William Johnson and the S.P.G., 1749-1774," in Klingberg, *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York*, pp. 104-105.

But as Mr. Maule who raised 50£ of this Sume Singly by himself; a year before and Mr Bull who was but newly arrived and Consequently very much a Stranger to him did above all others distinguish themselves, (tho, neither Mr Hasle nor Mr Osborne another Stranger to him Likewise ought to be forgotten) on this occasion So the said Mr Johnson haveing Set this thing in a Clear light, humbly Submitts it to the most Illustrious Society after what manner, and with what marks of distinction their thanks is to be given to such worthy and Affectionate Brethren.

2dly It being Evident from the foregoing Article that his Debts are great, tho it was his want of health that Chiefly foret him away frome that Country, It can't be Imagin'd that things are well with him here, especially since he lost his onely Support the late most worthy Bishop of London, who was to him a father, as well as his Bishop, by the anixed letter it will appeare, that his Lordship had Some Concern for him, and he more than once assured him by word of mouth that he should not want, and that he might depend upon it he would take care of him, It is Certain his Lordship would a done this, had not his death prevented it, but by his death, he is not only deprived of the advantage but the Care and the Charge of his Eldest Son is again fallen upon him, who was maintaind and kept at School by his Lordship,² and so is Likewise that of his other Son, who has been hitherto Supported and kept at School by the most Illustrious Societys Bounty of 30£ given to him for that purpose, To this it may be added that his wife while she remained here for the recovery of her health, was foret to Contract some debts for her Cure and Support, which are left for him to pay, so that far from being able to pay for his Sons Schooling and Dyet or any other Debt, he has not wherewithall to go to the Bath, tho he is advised it would be of the best Consequence to him, but on the Contrary he is obliged to run in debt for his Support for Severall weeks past, for these Reasons he humbly Craves leave to pray, that the most Illustrious Society would be pleased to Advance him a years Sallary before hand, without which it will be Imposible for him to free himself from present Incumbences, or to go to the Bath for his Health for some little time, after which if Death or

² On May 18, 1711, the Bishop of London wrote Johnston, "Your litle Boy is like to do very well, of whom I have taken care for the present." See S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), May 18, 1711, pp. 462-463.

great want of health does not prevent it, he Intends God willing to transport himself to Carolina with the first opportunity, where as he is informd in Some Letters (ready to be produced) his presence in the opinion of some friends is thought in Some Measure necessary for restoreing peace and tranquility to that province He thanks God he left it in a peaceable and flourishing condition when he came away, but now to his great griefe he is informd that it is divided into Factions by the Intrigues and Contrivances of ill desining men—

3dly He begs leave to represent that thô he has his wife and three other Children to maintain at Carolina, besides the two boys here at School yet he has not onè penny to answer this or any other demand he haveing assigned and made over his Sallary to Messrs Maule and Bull till the 200£ with the Interest were [*sic*] be paid, So that tho his wife has written to him in very pressing terms to Supply the Children with necessarys who are in great want, yet he knows not under his present Circumstances how to do it, he well remembers when [he] was first goeing to Carolina the Comittee came to a resolution that the Lord Bishop of London Should be applyed to by the Society and prayd that he might be provided for at home but the said Mr Johnson being affraid his Lordship should think he was at the bottom of this, and being unwilling to give him the least handle to Suspect his Integrity he absolutely refused that unusuall favor offered to him by the Comitee and begd that project tho so much to his advantage, might be dropt, as it accordingly was but the Case being now quite altered and he haveing Served so long abroad and Suffered so much both as to the loss of his health, and his benefice in Ireland and he being Still willing to Continue in the Service as long as he is able and his Superiors shall think fit, he humbly prayes that he may be recomended either to Her majesty, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury the Lord High Chancellour the Lord High tresurer the Lord Bishop of London or any other Pson as the most Ilustrious Society shall think Convenient for Some smale Benefice here at home to which he may retreat in case he cannot enjoy his health abroad, and which may enable him in the meanwhile to Support and maintain his numerous ffamily without being farther either burthensome or troublesom to the Said Society. His daily Expectation of the Lord Bishop of Londons arrival has hitherto prevented him from makeing any application of this kind

to the Society, but hearing nothing of his Lordships return, and So many Difficulties Crowding in upon him on every Side at once he is now forced tho with very great reluctance, to give them this trouble. He wou'd not have forgotten the proposing an Adress to the lords Proprietors in his behalf, but the much better and greater part of them being out of Town, and no board being to be made till next Sessions of parliament all thoughts of this kind must be laid aside till that time.

4thly There being an absolute necessity from his haveing a Curate, who besides being Catechist shall Supply his Cure in his absence; as well as assist him when present,—and the most Ilustrious Society, out of the abundance of their goodness and compassion haveing formerly granted him this favour, he humbly prays for their continuance of it, he haveing done nothing that he knows of, to forfeit it and with all due Submission he recomends Mr Smith a Clergyman in the diocess of Gloucester, to them for this purpose who is a person of years and Experience and seems every way well qualified for it, and has been formerly approved of, and encouraged by the Society to go abroad, and how Zealously bent the said Mr Smith is upon the mission will in part appear from a letter lately written by him to the Said Mr Johnson, the variety of preachers and the different Methods of preaching makes the people Something uneasy, and for this Reason he most humbly and earnestly prays that this Gentleman may be dispatcht thither with all the hast that is possible till he himself is able to follow him.

5thly The Lord ArchBishop of Canterbury being unwilling to give Letters for the Queens Bounty to the missionaries it is humbly recomended to the most Ilustrious Society to consider what Method may be most proper for obtaining it till the Lord Bishop of London arrives and adjust this matter with her majesty or the Lord Treasurer.

...

7thly Mr Guy haveing fully qualified himself for the mission by his being ordained Priest by the Rt Reverend father in God the Lord Bishop of Norwich, Mr Johnson humbly prays in the behalf of the Said Mr Guy that he may be continued on the same ffoot with the rest of the missionaries in South Carolina, he haveing done

³ Number 6, concerned with the affairs of the Yamassee Prince, is omitted here.

nothing, as he humbly conceives to forfeit their favour during the time that he was abroad, and he farther prays that the Treasurer may be ordered to pay him the remaining part of his Sallary Since he left Carolina, there being a manifest necessity for his Comeing away, and he Likewise hopes that the most Illustrious Society will give him the benefit of that Standing order, which provides that any person comeing over for orders with an intention to qualifye himself for the Cure of Souls, which he has Actually done, Shall have his Charges born by them, and with all due Submission he farther proposes that the Said Mr Guy may have as large an allowance as any of the last Missionaries sent over in regard he is to live in the most remote and barren and by much the most uncomfortable Parish in that Province.⁴

XIII

A number of the letters deal with the Commissary's difficulties in Ireland, which country he visited. These vexations caused him to write the following letter, perhaps the most complaining of all his correspondence. He reviewed the entire list of his mishaps, beginning with the delay of any salary in South Carolina when he first arrived. His arrest for debt was merely one of the new series of misfortunes in England which prevented his stay at Bath and destroyed his rest and chance of recuperation. Noted, but not copied for the Library of Congress records, are Mr. Johnston's "Letters to Mr.

⁴ S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 8, No. 10, pp. 66-73. Recorded in Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, October 2, 1713, No. 4, p. 312. The entry is here included to indicate action by the Society on the various points raised: "The Memorial or Representation of Mr Johnston was read and considered as to the 1st Paragraph relateing to the Kindnesses he Mentions to have recd from Several of the Society's Missionaries there. Agreed that in the Next Letter to those Missionaries some Proper Hints and Notices be made that the Society take very kindly their Assistance given to the said Mr Johnston. As to the Second Paragraph relateing to his Present hard Circumstances and desiring a year's Salary may be advanced to him for the Purposes therein mentioned and Upon reading a Letter Just now recd from the sd Mr Johnston. Agreed that the Treasurer do pay by way of advance to the said Mr Johnston one Quarter's Salary to be due at Christmas Next. The Third Paragraph was read and Considered. As to the fourth Paragraph in relation to the sending a Curate to Charles Town afore-said in the Room of Mr Guy—Agreed that a Curate he sent thither with the like Salary given to the said Mr Guy and that it be referred to the Committee to Consider the Qualifications of Mr Smith mentioned in the sd Memorial as a proper Pson to be Employed in that Service. The fifth Paragraph was read and considered."

Chamberlayne and the Secretary while under an Arrest for a Debt he was bound for in Ireland, being 4 Letters in All."¹ Johnston's stay in England was further complicated by the fact that radical changes in the political and ecclesiastical regimes occurred while he was waiting to present his memorials.

The War of the Spanish Succession came to an end in the Peace of Utrecht (1713), the chief negotiator of which was John Robinson, successor to Henry Compton as Bishop of London in 1714. Compton was the Commissary's old friend. Robinson's career had been in the field of diplomacy as ambassador to Sweden where he had bribed the Swedish ministers while Marlborough consulted with Charles XII. Queen Anne's death, in 1714, was followed by a turmoil in church and state which lasted for decades. Archbishop Tenison, the presiding official of the S.P.G. from its foundation in 1701, died in 1715, and Bishop Burnet in the same year. The first secretary of the Society, John Chamberlayne, was replaced in 1712 by William Taylor, who served until 1716, when the Rev. Dr. David Humphreys took the post. Many able secretaries of the Society are recorded in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

The secretary was a key man in the organization. It must be noted that the Bishop of London had at home the largest and most populous diocese in England with many Dissenters in the City. Politically he was, in effect, a member of the government. The commissaries and the missionaries were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London but this control was not clearly defined. Suffice it to say, that his authority was not so complete in the colonies as over the clergy resident in his diocese. When Edmund Gibson became Bishop of London, in 1723, he had the government clarify his authority. The Society, in contrast with the Bishopric of London, was an organization with a single purpose. A letter sent to it was

¹ These four letters are merely identified, not transcribed, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 8, No. 36, p. 37. A later memorial from Peter Sexton, of Gray's Inn, one of Johnston's creditors relates that "Mr Johnston being arrested for the said Money, prevailed wth Mr Jennings to interpose and at his Request Mr Sexton discharg'd that Action, and took an Assignment of Mr. Johnston's Salary as a Missionary . . . But Mr Johnston being pressed by some other Creditors, who were not so easy or Indulgent as Mr Sexton, desired Mr Sexton not to insist vigorously on the said Assignment, but to suffer those other Creditors to be first paid, wch Mr Sexton consented unto rather than Mr Johnston should be thrown into Prison by those Severe Creditors. See S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 11, pp. 46-47.

certain to receive attention from the secretary whose business it was to read it, present it or an abstract to the meetings of the Society, and reply with decisions made. Johnston, for example, was appointed commissary by the Bishop of London, as all other commissaries, James Blair of Virginia, and Thomas Bray of Maryland, for instance, had been. The Bishop of London was, of course, a member of the Society. The Americans believed an Anglican Bishop would be another representative of British power and resisted his appointment until after Independence. Samuel Seabury was chosen in 1784.

Johnston, in addition, became a missionary of the Society in 1711, partly with the object of increasing his authority over the S.P.G. missionaries. The division of authority between bishop and Society was never quite clear and explains why Johnston and other men frequently sent practically duplicate letters, appeals, addresses, and memorials to various persons. If the Bishop of London was suspected of lukewarmness on an issue, the Commissary might write to Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, or to some person known to be interested in that particular subject. The Commissary's visit home, in short, fell between two eras. The founders of the Society were passing from the scene, and the newcomers had not had time to take a firm grip on their jobs. While Johnston was waiting to see the new Bishop of London, John Robinson, he apparently added repeated supplements to his memorial. On November 20, 1713, with no action to relieve his condition as yet on the part of the Society, Johnston presented another memorial.² Two weeks later, at the meeting of December 4, 1713, the members gave full consideration to Johnston's plea, and agreed that his case was "compassionate tho they Apprehend they cannot Report any Particular Opinion what is proper for the Society to do therein . . . they are not at present in a Condition to make any Guift to the said Mr Johnston out of their Stock and Likewise . . . they are doubtful whether such Guift in the present Case is consistant with the Rules of the Society."³

On his return from Ireland, Johnston wrote the Secretary a brief letter, on February 9, 1714, urging that Whitehead be dispatched to South Carolina to act as curate in his absence.

² Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, November 20, 1713, No. 3, pp. 333-334.

³ *Ibid.*, II, December 4, 1713, No. 3, pp. 335-336.

Mr Johnston to the Secretary

Graies in Essex ffeb 9th 1713/14

Sr

I have been seised with the Gout or Rhematism since Sunday last was Sennight, and wou'd have been waited on the Comee last Monday but for that reason. I found myself pretty easy this morning and my impatience of being in town to attend the Society next ffryday in order to pray them that Mr Whitehead might be admitted and entertained by them as a Catechist and Assistant to me at Charles Town induced me to venture on horse back to this place, that I might transport myself from hence in one of the passage boats to London. But the rideing so far, tho' but a small Mile, has so inflamed my foot, that far from being able to pursue my design, I am not able to return to the Gentlemans house where I was, but am forced to take up my quarters in this place at the Ministers House who pitying the Condition I am in, has very Civilly invited and received me into his house. If my Pain abates to any tolerable degree I am Resolved God willing to take boat tomorrow or next day at farthest, but if it does not I begg of you that you will acquaint the most Illustrious Society with my Condition, and that nothing but an Accident of this kind shou'd hinder me from waiting on them as in Duty bound I recommend myself to their Compassion and Prayers, and most humbly pray that Mr Whitehead may be dispatched to Carolina where he is Extremely wanted, I write this in very great pain and therefore I must break off and conclude my Self,

Sr

Your most humble Servant

Gideon Johnston⁴

XIV

During the Commissary's long absence in England (1713-1715) the clergy of South Carolina became worn with the extra duties of supplying his parish. A hurricane, an Indian insurrection, and famine prices were disasters of major importance to the churches because of financial impoverishment. The Society, on receipt of these reports, determined that the Commissary must return to

⁴ Mr. Johnston to the Secretary, Graies in Essex, February 9, 1713/14, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 8, No. 48, pp. 48-50.

South Carolina, gave him a curate, one John Whitehead, and helped to arrange his affairs so that he could sail for the Colony.

Two letters from South Carolina, presented to the Society at its meeting on June 1, 1714, compelled action without further delay. Dr. Francis Le Jau had written from Goose Creek almost a year earlier that, while his colleagues were serving Johnston's cure "by turns as diligently as possibly they can, yet . . . the Parishioners would be better pleased if their Pastor resided among them."¹ A second letter from Le Jau, dated January 22, 1714, stated that Mr. Johnston's parishioners "want his presence, the clergy do what they can but the People are not satisfied."² It was accordingly ordered that Johnston and his newly appointed catechist, Mr. Whitehead, must attend the Society at the next meeting "to shew cause of their delay in not proceeding on their Voyage."³

Two weeks later Johnston and Whitehead appeared according to the order of the Society. Johnston assured the board that he would "make the utmost dispatch" to return to Charleston, and Whitehead explained that, while no ship had sailed for Carolina since he had been appointed by the Society, he would "take the first Opportunity of Transporting himself thither."⁴ On July 16, Johnston forwarded to the Society a letter giving his reasons for "staying so long in England," and informing them that Mr. Whitehead expected to sail for South Carolina late in July. The Society agreed that this letter and statement be referred to the Bishop of London, and that "his Lordship be desired to acquaint the Society how the affair of Mr Johnston stands with his Ldp."⁵

Mr Johnston to Mr Chamberlayne

Sr

ffriday July the 16th 1714

The Ship, in which Mr Whitehead is to be transported to South Carolina being to Sail the latter End of this Month, I Humbly pray, that the most illustrious Society will be pleas'd to give him his final Instructions, and to charge him wth such letters and Messages to the Clergy of that Province, as they shall think convenient, the Indian Youth is likewise to return in the same Ship. . . .

¹ Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, June 1, 1714, No. 10, p. 383.

² *Ibid.*, No. 11, p. 384.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 14, p. 385.

⁴ *Ibid.*, June 18, 1714, No. 9, p. 387.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 16, 1714, No. 10, p. 390.

As for my self, wt I well foresaw and Affirmd concerning my ill State of health, the last time the Society was pleas'd to call me to an account for my Long stay on this side the water is now actually come upon me, having been confind to my bed by the Gout in both feet & my hip, by Rheumatick pains in the rest of my Limbs, the Stone in the bladder & Gravel in the kidneys for almost 3 weeks, my Body is so wasted and Emaciated, & I am brought so low by this complication of Distempers, that it is not probable I shall ever gett over itt; And indeed had I not a heart not easily touched or penetrable by every Accident, I should never have been able to hold out, as I have done, against that vast variety of Misfortunes I have mett wth, since the first moment I engag'd in the Mission. but as illls of this kind are always design'd for our Good, so I humbly aquiesce in my Lot & I pray God I may improve them to the best advantage. My good Lord of London [h]as been exceding kind to mee, having not only sent me many comfortable Messages by his Gentleman, but supplied me wth mony for my subsistance, without which I must have inevitably perished; and were the Society pleas'd to order his Lordship their thanks, for the care he has taken of me their unworthy Missionary, I should ever own myself oblig'd to them for this, as I am & always shall be for their many other favours to me. the inclosed is an Account of those reasons, wch have oblig'd me to stay so long from my Cure in South Carolina; and is only the Substance of what I said in my own defense at the last general Meeting, which I now send to prevent the Mistaking anything, that I said upon that occasion.

I am Sr Your Most Humble & Obedt Servt
Gideon Johnston^e

Mr Johnstons reasons for staying so long from his Cure at
Charles Town S. Carolina

1. His being chargd wth procuring subscriptions for the building a Church in his Parish among the Merchants trading to that place, without which it is not possible to finish it, the Country being to much in debt on the account of the late War; and having suffered 10000£ dammage by the storm or hurricane on the 5th of September last. 2. The Clergy having char'd him to lay several Matters relat-

^e Mr. Johnston to Mr. Chamberlayne, July 16, 1714, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 9, pp. 35-36.

ing to the State of Religion and the Church in that Province before the Ld Bishop of London, he cannot well return, till he has his Lordships resolution about them, which he has not hitherto been able to obtain, but he is in hope, now his Lordship is more at Leisure, that he will be soon dispatched by him. 3. The debts he has contracted, since he came hither, for his subsistence, will neither in Justice or honour permit him to return, without the leave at least, if not the payment of those, who lent him money to preserve him from Starving, but having before he fell sick discours'd to them about this, he finds they will accept of nothing less than their money, or att least security for its payment in some reasonable time. 4. Tho he were under no difficulty of this kind, yet having nothing here to depend upon (his Salary being made over for the payment of Mr Sexton's debt) and what he has in Carolina, being not sufficient to maintain that part of his family now there, which is but half, not to say anything of the 200£ he owes the Clergy (one penny of which is not yet paid) it cannot be well expected from him, that he should return thither to Starve & to leave his sons here naked & exposed to the wide world, as to the truth of things in Carolina, he is ready to produce his Vouchers for it, when thereunto required; and all things are so excessively dear there, & provisions are so scarce, that there is a perfect famine in it; & it is now one of the Dearest places in the world, since then this is his Case, can any one blame him, for being unwilling to return, till either her Majesty or the Ld Bp of London, by giving him something in their gift, or till God by some other means, shall enable him to it. 5. and lastly. he humbly conceives, that tho he were easy in all other respects, yet his want of health would sufficiently justify his stay here, till Providence enabled him to do something towards the recovery of it, for Carolina is a place that affords not the best Air or Diet, or the best Drugs or Physicians for the Cure of any Distemper, especially such as he is troubled wth. He will only add that it is not his interest, no more than it is his inclination, to stay from his Cure & his home, could he possibly avoid it, and therefore he hopes, everyone will do him the justice to beleive, that nothing but his want of health and the Necessity of his Affairs, could force him to a thing, wch is in all other respects so contrary to his inclinations & so prejudicial to his Interest.⁷

⁷ Mr. Johnston's reasons for staying so long from Charleston, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 9, No. 34, pp. 90-92.

XV

On August 20, 1714, Whitehead appeared again before the Society, requesting "five pounds worth of Small Tracts to distribute among his Catechumens, &c." the equipment usually furnished by the Society to its schoolmasters. These books were allowed "in Case the said Mr Whitehead shall sail for Carolina before the next meeting of the Society."

By November Johnston, still in England, included a news note from Colonel Rhett in Carolina, about the hurricane in September, 1713.²

Mr Johnston to the Secretary
Sr

ffriday Morn :
Nov 19, 1714

...³

... there has been another hurricane lately in South Carolina on the 10th of September last, wch has done a vast deal of Dammage as may appear from the following Postscript in Colln Rhett's letter to me.

Sept 20 The foregoing was design'd; by this same opportunity, but her sailing sooner was prevented by a violent hurricane we had on friday the 10th Instant wch has done much the same dammage to the whole Country as that, last Year but the greatest misfortune is, our new Brick Church which as I wrote in the foregoing, was ready for the roof, is now considerably dammaged by this Storm the No and So Sides being quite blown down to the Watter Table, the Windows broken & Shattered to peices. however I have made a second Effort [*sic*] and design, please God to prevent the like Accident, to carry it to its former height, & hope People will be so Charitable to Assist me in so good a Design.

I am &c:

P.S. I dont trouble you wth the particulars of this Storm, not doubting but you'l have it from other hands.

This is the Acet Colln Rhett gives of this unhappy Accident, and all that I can add further is, that the dammage done by the hurri-

¹ Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, August 20, 1714, No. 11, p. 393.

² Mr. Johnston to the Secretary, November 19, 1714, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 9, No. 29, pp. 45-47.

³ Refers to the Yamassee Princee.

cane Sept 6 : 1713 was computed at 100000£ of that Country Mony. And I was inform'd last Tuesday att the Carolina Coffee house, that had not the Wind chopt about suddenly & att that nick of time, Charlestown wt all its Inhabitants had been laid under Watter : but if Mr Kettleby⁴ be att the board, I do not doubt, but he will be able to give a more particular acct of the Mischeif done by this Storm. I have been since Wednesday laid up wth the Gout & Gravel & am confin'd to my bed, in which I am forc'd to write this, wth great pain otherwise I should bring you this Acct myself, instead of writing it, And hope the most Illustrious Society will excuse my absence, in regard, nothing but the condition I am now in, could prevent my attendance on them.

I am Sr

Your most humble Servt
Gideon Johnston⁵

XVI

By January 21, 1715, his affairs somewhat resolved, Johnston had determined to return to South Carolina.¹ Accompanying a short letter to the Archbishop of York there was a brief list of particulars. The first six concerned the affairs of the Yamassee Prince, and the last two informed the Society that the proprietors had awarded him £100 colonial currency and 500 acres of land in Carolina.²

On January 21, 1715, the Society acknowledged receipt of these communications and agreed to advance the unassigned portion of his quarter's salary of £12.10, and recommended that a letter be sent to the Governor and Council of South Carolina in his favor. It also urged that the colonial authorities "contribute all they can to the conversion of the Indians."³

⁴ Abel Kettleby, of the Inner Temple, had been appointed agent for the province of South Carolina, by act of the Assembly in 1712. On July 13, 1713, he was proposed for membership in the S.P.G., at which time he promised to contribute "to the Society Ten Pounds Yearly." See *Journal of S.P.G.* (L.C. Trans.), II, July 13, 1713, No. 10, p. 299.

⁵ Mr. Johnston to the Secretary, November 19, 1714, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 9, No. 29, pp. 45-47.

¹ Mr. Johnston to the Archbishop of York, January 21, 1715, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 9, No. 37, p. 53.

² Mr. Johnston's Particulars / January 21, 1715/ in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.) A 9, No. 50, pp. 105-107.

³ *Journal of S.P.G.* (L.C. Trans.), III, January 21, 1715, No. 18, pp. 33-34.

On June 23, 1715, Johnston wrote that he was about to sail, and on September 30, 1715, that he was in Charleston after a very miserable three-months crossing. He was welcomed by his fellow clergymen. His state of health throughout the remainder of his life remained bad.

Mr. Johnston to the Secretary

Thursday 12 aclock June 23d 1715

Sr

I have just now arrived here in my way to Carolina; & as soon as I have put an End to this & left it at the Post Office, I will immediately go on board. I thought it proper to give you this notice, that you may acquaint my Superiors of the Society with it to whom I shall ever own my self oblidge for their great goodness to me, in bearing with my long Stay on this Side of the water & for their many other Favours of every kind to me. I well know what returns they Expect from me; & I with Gods assistance will Endeavour to answer their Expectations as much as I Can; I am with my most Humble Duty to the most Revd President & all my other worthy Masters & Benefactors in the Society

Yor most Humble Servt
Gideon Johnston⁴

Charlestown. Sepr 30. 1715

Sir

The time has been so short, Since my arrival; and I am so much out of order, after abundance of Sickness on Ship board, & a tedious passage of three months, that I can't pretend to give an Account of the Situation of affairs here, till it pleases God, that I recover a little Strength, and am longer in the Country. But as my Brethren know how things are, So I doubt not but they have discharg'd their duty this way. And therefore to them I refer my most Hond. Superiors in the Society, for their Information. . . .⁵

I owne myself greatly oblidge'd to the Most Revd the president and the Rest of my most Hond Superiors in the Society for their re-

⁴ Mr. Johnston to the Secretary, Charleston, South Carolina, September 30, 1715, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), B 4, Part 1, No. 28, pp. 70-71. Recorded in Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), III February 1, 1716/17, No. 24, pp. 224-225.

⁵ Refers to the Yamassee Prince.

peated favours; and I will endeavour with Gods blessing and assistance, to merit the continuance of their kindness to me. In the mean time, their Commands, if they have any new ones for me, shall meet with a punctual obedience from, Sir

Your most humble Servt
Gideon Johnston^a

Address ffor

Mr William Taylor

Secretary to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in
fforeign Parts, to be left at the Ld A : Bp of Canterburies
Library near the Mews London [red wax seal broken]

Endorsed

Mr Johnston

Charles Town 30 Sept 1715

recd 15 June 1716

XVII

Under date of October 13, 1715, the Commissary joined with the clergy of South Carolina in a brief report of the state of affairs, one-fifth of the province being devastated by the Yemassee War. The Cherokees were friendly, the Governor, Charles Craven, helpful, and rehabilitation under way. Since Johnston's return, initiative action by the clergy as a group had been resumed.

South Carolina Octr the 13th 1715

May it please yr Lordship

We have hitherto by the blessing of God comfortably experienc'd the efficacy of mutuall Love & Affection to each other in carrying on the glorious Work weh we are employd in and are perswaded that Innocency of Life and an exemplary Conversation wth a strict Observance of the Canons & Constitutions of our excellent Church are the most proper means to render our ministrations effectual to preserve our Holy Religion from the contempt & to refute the oppositions of the Enemys of ours: We therefore assure yr Lordship

^a Mr. Johnston to the Secretary, June 23, 1715, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 10, pp. 19-20. No exact date for his departure from England, or for his arrival in Carolina appears but, since Johnston himself refers, in his letter of September 30, 1715, to "a tedious passage of three months" he was apparently at sea for most of the period between these two letters of June 23, 1715, and September 30, 1715.

that We will (the Divine Grace assisting us) observe wtsoever yr Lordship hath been pleas'd to command us in yr most obliging Letter of the 20th of June wch we receiv'd this Day, from the Revd Mr Commissary Johnston, whose unwearied diligence in promoting our welfare in particular, as well as the Advancement of Religion in generall has highly deserv'd our best Affection, wch will not only facilitate but ascertain our Duty & Obedience to him—We doubt not but that yr Lordship hath been already inform'd of the melancholy circumstances this Province Lyes under by the Invasion of the Savages (to w^m pity & compassion are unkown) who have no other notion nor expression of Courage than the exquisiteness of the tortures & prolonging the Deaths they inflict upon their Captives, they seem to have nothing but the shape of Men to distinguish them from Wolves & Tygers. The Southern parts wch include a fifth of the Province are entirely depopulated, & the whole must have undoubtedly [been] a Sacrifice to their Barbarity had not the Honble the Governour (by meeting them with invincible Courage & bravery wth the divine blessing, put a Stop to their Career & pursued his Conquest wth such unwearied Diligence as hath given us occasion to hope that we shall become an overmatch for them & the Province restor'd to its former tranquillity. These hopes are increas'd by the expectation of the Cherokees, a very populous & warlike Nation entering into an alliance wth us. Att the beginning of that bloody Warr we had but little prospect of Success—when severall of the Inhabitants wth most of the Dissenting Teachers retired for safety to the neighbouring Colonies, We thought it our Duty to improve this opportunity & convince our severall Congregations that We sought not theirs but Them, & regarded not our bodys & temperall concerns if we might contribute somewt towards the saving their Souls & promoting their spiritual Welfare: And We doubt not but our Conduct therein will turn to account whenever it shall please the Divine Providence to put an end to our prest Troubles.

We desire to Inform yr Lordship that the Honble the Governour has upon all occasions manifested his Inclination & readiness to serve the Interests of our Religion whenever we made our Application to him, & always rec'd us wth the most civil treatmt & Distinction.

We wrote a Letter to yr Lordship, dated the 24th of Novr 1714

wch we are inform'd by the Revd Mr. Commissary Johnston came not to yr hands therefore beg leave to repeat the great Joy & Satisfaction wherewth we recd the good news of our being undr yr Lordships care & protection. We are assur'd that the Church of England is safe whilst yr Lordship is her Guardian & that God Almighty may protect both Her & You from the malice & attempts of her Enemyes shall be our continued Prayers. We humbly crave yr Lordship's Blessing & are

Yr Lordship's
most humble & Dutifull Servts
Fra : Le Jau
Robt Maule
Thomas Hasell
Gilbt Jones
W. Tredwell Bull
John Le Pierre
Ph. De Richebourg

I heartily concur with my Brethren on the Contents of this Letter that part of it only accepted [excepted] which concerns my Self.

Gideon Johnston¹

XVIII

Early in December the Commissary gave the news that the clergy were appealing to John Robinson, Bishop of London, to use his influence with the proprietor, John Carteret, later Earl Granville, to further Anglicanism in South Carolina.

My Lord

Charlestown, Decemb. 9^o 1715

I herewith send your Lordship, the vestry and Churchwardens of my Parishes Letter; and you may from thence perceive, that by laying hold on proper opportunities, and insisting on our most

¹ Fulham Palace MSS (L.C. Trans.), South Carolina, No. 23. On October 18, 1715, the clergy also returned "their most Dutifull Thanks to the Society for the great Goodness to Mr Commissary Johnston in particular and to them in general," and praised the generous treatment of Governor Craven, whose "Mild and Equitable Government" had not only endeared him to the province in general, but whose "Bounty and noble Benefactions" toward the Established Church had been in good measure responsible for the erection of the new church and school at Charleston. See Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), III, February 1, 1716/17, No. 30, pp. 231-232.

Excellent Constitution, in opposition to the senseless & ridiculous Schemes of Church Governmt in America, and more especially in this Province, will be the most Effectual method you can make use of, in settling our Infant Church here, upon the Same foot, as it is at home; and indeed, as it should be, in pursuance to the Union Act. Nor do I doubt but that if the society Join'd with you, and that you kept up a good Correspondence with My Lord Carteret, our Palatine, his Lordship & the rest of the Proprietors wou'd, with a very little application be easily perswaded to run into any measures that may be most proper and conducive towards gaining this great Point.

The Clergy at our last meeting have unanimously agreed upon a Publick letter to your Lordship; the writing of which was charged on Mr Bull. But as it has not yet come to hand, and that it will require some time, when it does, to send it about to the Clergy, for their signing it, so I will forward it, as soon as I receive it; and shall in every thing Endeavour to approve my self, and to convince your Lordship, how much I am, My most Honour'd Lord,

Your Lordships most oblig'd most humble & most
obedient Servt
Gideon Johnston¹

Charlestown, Decemb. 9. 1715

Sir

I have litle to say at Present concerning affairs here, till I have receiv'd the Clergy's publick letter to the Most Illustrious Society; and then I shall have an oportunity of writing a litle more at large to you.

.²
I doe not doubt as I have formerly observ'd, but Dr Le Jau & others here have given you an acct of the original [*sic*] & progress of our war here; and therefore I shall not trouble you with an account [of] anything relateing to this affair, till my next.

I am still in a very ill State of health, and so much the more so, because, the distempers I am troubled with, are continually growing upon me; and indeed, I believe, incurable. The utmost that I can expect in this Melancholy State, is, Some litle respite from my

¹ Fulham Palace MSS (L.C. Trans.), South Carolina, No. 232.

² Dots appear thus in the manuscript.

pains, & some short Intervals of Ease; and with this I must be contented, at least, as long as I live here: tho I am of opinion, cou'd my Circumstances permit me to go to the Bath, and to drink the Bristol waters things wou'd be much better with me. But considering where I now am, these things are impossible, as they were, while I was in England for an other reason—

I do most humbly thank the Society for all their ffavours, to me, which indeed have been great; nor shall I ever cease to make the best returns I can, whilst I have the honour of serving them. I know very well what it is they expect from me; and I, with Gods assistance, will Endeavour to answer their Expectations this way, as much as I can.

I shall not now Enter into any particulars, but shall defer what I have to say to the next oppertunity. In the mean time, I am, with my most humble duty & Service to the most Revd the President, and the rest of my most worthy and Honour'd Superior's and Benefactors in the Society

Sir,
Your most humble Servt
Gideon Johnston^a

Endorsed

Mr Johnston
Charles Town 9th Decr 1715
reed the 15th June 1716

XIX

On December 19, 1715, the Commissary refers to the aftermath of the hurricane, war and high prices which were those of famine scarcity.

Sir

Charlestown, Decemb. 19^o 1715

I hope the most Illustrious Society is sensible by this time, that their Missionaries will prove better Correspondents for the future, than they have hitherto done; in order to which, I shall not fail, at proper seasons, to put them in mind of their duty.

...¹

Nothing has been done to our new Church, Since its being blown

^a Gideon Johnston to the Secretary, Charleston, December 9, 1715, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), B 4, Part 1, pp. 98–99. Recorded in Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), III, February 1, 1716/17, No. 25, p. 223.

¹ Omitted material refers to the Yamassee Prince.

down by the Hurricane, The want of mony, was what put a stop to it before the war; and I having procur'd 530£ of this Country Mony in London, towards the finishing on't, the want of workmen is the great obstacle to it at present; most of them being in the army.

We are Sadly incommoded in our Church, having no Common Prayer Books or Bible, but Such as are miserably spoild and worn out; and therefore we are oblidg'd to make use of our Private Books. There are also two Surplices wanting, and the Canons, Homilies, and those Proclamations, which are to be read in the Churches: But the Country is so sunk in debt and impoverished by the war, that I really have not the Courage to ask for any of these things at present. But if we cou'd be Supplied any other way, I doubt not, but it woud be most thankfully accepted, and most gratefully acknowledged by the Vestry and Parish in general.

Mr Maule has been long troubled with the fflux, and has not been able to go to Church for some time. I pray God to preserve him and Doctor Le Jau who is also often out of order; ffor shoud they die, we shou'd, all of us, have an Extraordinary loss in either of them; for they are two worthy good Men.

You shou'd have had this letter sooner from me, but that the inclosd did not come into my hands till very lately; And I hope, you will not be wanting in imparting to us, the Societies Commands, by every opportunity, that comes in your way.

I present my most humble duty and Service to the most Revd the President, and the rest of my most Honourd Superiors and Benefactors of the Society; and and [*sic*] do most Earnestly beg the Continuance of their Prayers and favour. And you, Sir, I hope will be pleas'd to believe, that I am, with great respect.—

Your most humble and
obedient Servant

Gideon Johnston²

Tho the inclos'd bears date
the 18th of October, yet I had
[*sic*] but a day or two ago.

Endorsed: Mr. Johnston, Charles

Town 19th Decemr 1715

recd 15th June 1716

² Gideon Johnston to the Secretary, Charleston, S. C., December 19, 1715, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), B 4, Part 1, pp. 102–108. Recorded in Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), III, February 1, 1716/17, No. 26, pp. 223–224.

XX

The plight of the clergy during the Yamassee War, so vividly described in the letters reaching England from South Carolina, received careful attention by the members of the Society, and a committee was appointed to consider their situation. On July 15, 1715, this committee presented to the regular meeting those letters and papers "relating to the Miserable Estate of South Carolina," and it was ordered that the Secretary write the missionaries not only of the S.P.G.'s approval of their "Proceedings in the present distress," but also assurance that if they were "obliged by force and extream danger to leave that Country," the Society would continue their salaries. Further, an authorization for the advance of one-half year's salary "beyond what is already due to them," provided for the emergency.¹

On February 15, 1716, Colonel William Rhett had written the Society asking whether the advance "be a gift or whether the same is to be reckoned as part of their yearly Salary."² Final decision by the committee in July was "that such Missionaries of the Society as have been obliged to leave their Parishes by reason of the late War, have twenty pounds (part of the half-year's salary ordered to be advanced) given them as a Gratuity according to such Information as shall be recd by Letters and from the Governr of So Carolina."³

According to Mr. Rhett's statement, a total of £135 sterling had been advanced to the missionaries Maule, Whitehead, Hasell, La Pierre, and Richbourg. With Johnston's confirmation, the committee agreed that the bill be accepted. The Society concurred, with the added provision that Colonel Rhett be required to transmit receipts for money advanced.⁴

The Commissary's summary of need for relief of the distress of the clergy, dated January 27, 1716, rapidly reviews the losses of

¹ Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), III, July 15, 1715, No. 8, pp. 72-73. The other ministers of the Church of England not in the service of the Society were also to receive sums "not exceeding 20£ Sterling each," to be paid them in such manner and amounts as seemed desirable to Commissary Johnston, Dr. Le Jau, and Colonel Rhett.

² Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), III, May 18, 1716, No. 10, pp. 144-145.

³ *Ibid.*, III, July 6, 1716, No. 4, p. 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, July 6, 1716, No. 4, p. 155.

each man under the Indian assault. The losses were those of direct destruction and depredation by the Indians, or through the use of homes as fortresses for refugees, where as many as one hundred and five congregated in one instance. The arrival of the refugees in Charleston sky-rocketed prices and made merchants cautious in giving credit. The Society had instructed the missionaries to deal exclusively with Colonel Rhett but a number of them shopped around among the merchants and were rebuked for disobedience of orders. Both the Society and its workers were the victims of long-distance management. Instructions to cover emergencies were inevitably long delayed and might seem to work hardships.

The governor of North Carolina had asked for missionary help and, this matter being referred to the Commissary and the clergy of South Carolina, the decision to send Ebenezer Taylor was made.⁵ The reason for the choice of this troublemaker is obvious in the Commissary's confession that Taylor had deceived him. Mr. Whitehead, the curate, in the character of a saboteur, was also a humorous misfortune. In a larger sense the behavior of Taylor and Whitehead attested to the restlessness of the American frontier. These two men though in the church, were "on the make" and were not submissive in remaining in their places. Whitehead's case was managed by the Society before the letter of protest reached England. The Society was running behind at the rate of £1,461 a year and it cut off the salaries of Whitehead in South Carolina and Robert Jenney in New York.⁶

⁵ A letter from Governor Eden of North Carolina, written on October 8, 1714, had urged the Society's assistance, especially as there had been "destroyed by the Indians since the begining of the War above 80 unbaptized infants and . . . there are a great many in the County of Bath even to seven years old under that Circumstance for no other Cause but want of Opportunities." Religion, declared Eden, was in a deplorable state, with only one clergyman upon the scene. To meet this deficiency Johnston was instructed, on September 16, 1715, to appoint one of the South Carolina clergy who had been obliged to leave his parish, to "repair to North Carolina and officiate as the Society's Missy there." It should be noted that this appointment was to be made only "wth the Advice and Approbation of the rest of the Clergy. See *Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.)*, III, September 16, 1715, No. 11, pp. 81-82. On January 25, 1716, a joint letter from the South Carolina clergy informed the Society that while "none of the Societys Missionaries are qualified according to their Directions," Mr. Taylor had been chosen, by unanimous agreement, as "the most proper Person (being willing) to undertake that Mission." See *ibid.*, III, February 1, 1716/17, No. 31, p. 231.

⁶ *Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.)*, III, March 6, 1715/16, No. 15, p. 127, and *ibid.*, III, Nos. 16-17, pp. 127-128.

Sir.

Charlestown, Jan 27° 1715 [1715-16]

Yours of the 15th of September, with the copy of an other letter to Dr Le Jau of July the 16th, which I received after the Holy daies; accoasion'd the Clergy's Meeting on Tuesday the 25th Instant at this Place; And by the inclos'd you will see, how thankful they are for that care and tenderness; which the most Illustrious Society is pleased to express for them upon all occasions, but more Especially, at this unhappy Uncture. The Doctors Indisposition prevented his coming to town; but by an Instrument under his hand, which I herewith Send you, he authoriz'd me to act in this Name &c: as will appear from that Paper, to which I refer you.

Before our meeting I visited the Doctor; and having shewn him the Letters I had receiv'd, we conferred about Messrs La Pierre of Richbours case, which admitted of no long debate. their great Charge and known Poverty Justly intitling them to the Societies bounty of 60. £: and for this reason it is, that their respective orders for that mony, are written and sign'd by the Doctors own hand, I having desir'd him so to do. But as for the Missionaries, we cou'd conclude nothing certain about them, till their pretensions and circumstances were by each of them particularly made known to us; And the Doctor not being able to be present at our Meeting, desird me to act for him, and to do in in [*sic*] this and all other matters, as I shoud think fit.

I have set every ones pretensions in the Same light, in which they were represented to me; nor have I forgotten any thing that was material, upon this occasion. It cannot be supposd, but that I must in some measure know the Clergys circumstances to a good degree, and consequently cou'd not be very much impos'd upon; But if I have, it is that tenderness and compassion, which the sense of ones own wants and misfortunes naturally disposes him to, that has led me into this Mistake, if any there be; And I hope, the loss, that may be sustaind this way, will not be great; Since, whatever the necessities of some may prompt them to hope for, the Doctor and I never understood this favour of the Societies to express or intend any more, than the *advancement of half a years Salary, besides what was already due to them, for their Subsistence, which they have not drawn bills for, according to a written account inclosed*; which are the very words in the Doctors Letter.

The two French Ministers Messrs La Pierre and Richbourg, were in so great want that one, if not both of them, were thinking of quitting the Country, before the Societies bounty overtook them; and indeed were there room for it, they are proper objects of their further care and concern. Mr Bulls house was burn'd by the Enemy and all that was in it lost. Mr Maule has been long ill, tho' thanks be to God, now in a fair way of recovery, and has been a great sufferer by Sickness and by the war; and tho he was often in the midst of danger, yet he never quitted his Parish. His house was more than once converted into a Garrison, by as many of his Parishioners, as it cou'd contain, who fled thither for shelter and protection. Mr Hasell's and Mr. Richbourgs houses were from the beginning, and Still are Garisons; by which means, not to say any thing of that uncomfortable way of life, their orchards, gardens, and out houses were destroid; and where every thing must be Suppos'd to be in common in Such places, it is natural to believe, that great losses must be sustain'd within doors, as well as without; and that the poor Clergy must be at uncommon Expences, on this unhappy occasion. Mr Jones was forced to leave his house as many of his Parishioners did theirs, and, till of late, lived in the Town almost Since the beginning of the War; upon which account, he was a Considerable loser, being obligd to run in debt for the Support of his ffamily.* Mr Guy was in as bad circumstances if not worse, he having lost all but his Cloathes & books; his Parish being the first that felt the Enemies fury: And had not his wife help'd him out with her Small fortune, he woud have found it Extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to Subsist in so crowded and dear a Place, as this Town then was and Still is & therefore was forced to do as others did, and run in debt. Indeed it is not every one, that was willing to trust in such times of distress and danger, not knowing how soon they shoud be forced away, and oblidgd to live Elsewhere upon the mainchance; And those that were able, and in some measure willing, yet did not think it either safe or prudent to give too much Credit to those, who, if the war shoud continue, and the Enemy prevail to any degree, must have gone off to seek bread, if death did not prevent them; In Either of which Cases, the Clergy must

* His house was a place of refuge for many of his Parishioners for 3 weeks, (105 in number) which must be a vast charge to him, besides the loss of his horse.

have been absolutely insolvent: And, indeed, all things consider'd, it is a wonder, that they got so much credit as they did.

But as Dr Le Jau had, next to me, the greatest ffamily of all, and that he is, generally speaking, a great valetudinarian and frequently indisposed, So it lay heaviest upon him; of whose living in my house from the beginning of the war, till about the middle of last December, I doubt not but you have had an Account from himself. And what he Suffered by leaving his dwelling, in such hast and consternation as he did, is easy to imagin. These were the motives and these the reasons, which prevail'd upon me to do what I did with respect to the most Illustrious Societies directions concerning the half years Advance; And as every one of them complain'd, so did Mr. Whitehead in his turn; for which reason I consented he Shou'd share in the Societies favour, as well as the rest.

Some of us did not make use of Coll. Rhett here, because other Merchants have more in Exchange, than he was willing to give, as Mr Jones & Mr Guy; they taking it for granted, that they were not strictly tied to make use of him, when others bid more.⁷ Mr Maule, & Messrs Hasell, La Pierre, Whitehead and Richbourg, took their mony from him; And the rest of those, that draw at home, either owe debts there, or are bare of Cloaths and other Necessaries for the use of their ffamilies: And this being absolutely at this time the dearest Place in the whole world, & every thing, generally speaking, being Sold at Such an Extravagant Price, as if it were closely blocked up on all Sides, and reduced to the last Extremity by a long Siege, The Missionaries cannot Justly be blam'd for Managing every thing that is given them, to the best advantage. Nevertheless I must do this Justice to Coll Rhett, that he has been very civil and oblidging to the Clergy, and ready to do them all the good offices that lay in his power. And it is certain, that none, but provost Traders and Merchants (and this he is not) could well give more, than what he did.

⁷ The Society's authorization for the advance of half a year's salary had been made through Colonel William Rhett at Charleston, and a letter sent him by the secretary had authorized the advance. See *Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.)*, III, July 15, 1715, No. 8, pp. 72-73. Subsequently, when word reached the Society that Mr. Guy in particular had received his advance through "Mr William Jefferies by Order of Commissary Johnston and Dr Le Jau" it was ordered that the "Secretary acquaint them the Society are not pleased with their Conduct in not applying to Mr Rhett according to the Order of the Society." See *ibid.*, III, May 18, 1716, No. 11, p. 145.

You will in the Clergys inclosed letter see, what their opinion is, concerning one of their Number to be sent to N. Carolina. It is true, none of us is, in all respects, qualified for that Mission according to the Most Illustrious Societies directions, But it being certain that one could be Spard for some time at least, I pressed that some of us might be appointed for that Service; and at the Same time declar'd my own willingness to go, if they thought, I cou'd be spar'd from my Cure, till we have received fresh Instructions from our Superiors. After this, I withdrew, and left them intirely to themselves; and upon a Short debate, the Choice fell upon Mr Taylor unanimously.

Whether I have acted according to the Societies Intentions in this affair or not, I can't tell; but Sure I am, I meant well; tho I find Mr Taylor is resolv'd not to go, notwithstanding all the arguments I made use of, to bring him to it; but not doubting that he will Endeavour to Justify his conduct to his Superiors, I will leave him to himself. Tho I cannot but observe at the same time, that he has often prevaricated in this affair; having solemnly promised before the Governour and Clergy, that he woud go, more than once, and as unaccountably retracted and declin'd it.

The plain truth on't is, (for I dare not conceal a thing of this importance from my most Honour'd Superiors), we are all of opinion, that he woud do better elsewhere than here, neither his peevish and uneasy temper, or his self conceit and obstinacy, or his way of Preaching which is alltogether upon the old Presbyterian way, or his too penurious and covetous rate of life being at all agreeable to his Brethren, his Parishioners, or indeed to any one in the whole Country. I will only add, that he offered to go to N. Carolina, provided I woud give him the half years advance, which he fancies is bounty mony from the Society; but I own I was a litle netled at this Proposal, as if he thought I was capable of so much baseness as to betray my trust, and bribe him to his duty with the Societies Mony; which he is now so far from wanting, that he is taxed at 1400£ in this Country. And indeed, considering how litle use he makes of mony, unless it be let it out at Interest, and consequently how little occasion he has for any, I think my self in Conscience and duty bound to acquaint the Society, that they wou'd do well to withdraw his Salary, and apply it to Some better use; and Shou'd this Substraction commence from our last meeting, as

a Just punishment for his disobedience, I am most humbly of opinion, it wou'd not be amiss. It may perhaps be objected, that he is my Convert; but I hope this will never be turn'd to my disadvantage, in regard I was not the only Person that was deceiv'd in him; and it is no wonder I shou'd be mistaken this way, since even the wisest Men are often so. Several articles have been Exhibited against him by his Parishioners; but as what I have said concerning him, is Enough, to make him forfeit his Right to the Societies favour, so I will venture to Say, that the whole Clergy of this Province wou'd be extremely oblig'd to the most Illustrious Society, shoud they by their application to the Lord Bishop of London, prevail upon his Lordship to withdraw his Licence; for I am unwilling to concern myself about him, farther, than to admonish and represent to him the folly and ill consequences of his Conduct, and to take care, that his Cure be Supplied by turns; till we hear from home, provided he consent to it; his Cure be Supplied by turns [*sic*] ffor none of his Parishioners will come near the Church, whilst he officiates, or at least preaches, tho' I have Endeavoured to set them Streight in this matter, but to no purpose. The Clergy are of opinion, that Mr. Guy would do well in Mr. Taylour's Parish, shoud he be remov'd; it being probable, that neither his nor Mr Osborne's Parish will be inhabited, so as to need a Constant resident Minister, for some time; But if Mr Taylor goes, the Parishioners will choose whom they think fit. However let the Election fall on whom it will, it will be unsafe for him to accept of it, without the Societies leave; because if he does so, he must, according to a Standing order, forfeit both his mission & Salary; and therefore I humbly pray for the Societies resolution in this matter, that none of us may be a Sufferer by it.

Perhaps no Clergy in the universe liv'd in greater peace and unity than we did, till of late; but, I am sorry to say it, the Spirit of discord had like to have broke loose among us, but that God, out of his infinite goodness and Mercy, was pleas'd to put a stop to it; and we are all of us now in outward appearance, and I hope inwardly in our hearts, ffreinds again. Who or what was the occasion of our difference; is not now necessary to mention; but for the fear of any Such accident for the future, I believe a general letter from the Society Exhorting us to perseverance in Brotherly love and unity, and threatning Such of their Missionaries with their utmost resent-

ments, that shall out of a peevish, factious & discontented humor dare to lessen or dissolve it, will be of singular use in preserving us in that state of Peace and tranquillity to which the Divine Providence has been graciously pleas'd to restore us.

In my former letter I acquainted you, that I was resolv'd never to ask any thing of the Society for myself with respect to mony Matters; which resolution I am still resolv'd to Stick to, But in regard Doctor Le Jau and I seem to be encouraged by both the letters to us, to hope for the same favour, with the rest of the Missionaries, as to the half years advance, I most humbly submit my Self (as I am sure the Doctor Does) to the known goodness and compassion of the most Illustrious Society in this matter. If they are pleased to offer it me, I have pray'd Councellr Ketelbey to receive and pay it to my Creditors and to buy me and my ffamily Some few Necessaries with it as far as it will go: And tho I am now in a very weak and languishing condition, yet I am resolv'd never to withdraw myself from my post, if it please God to Spare me So long, till I see this war well ended, which I heartily pray for, and the Country restor'd to its former Tranquillity.

It wou'd be Some Satisfaction to me, to have the three last years Sermons and abstracts, as likewise that of this Current year; not doubting but that it will be published, before you can well return an answer to this Letter. And I do once more humbly recommend it to the Society, that they wou'd order Such Books as are given to the Misionaries of Each Parish, to be lodg'd in the Publick Library here, in case they shoud die, or go off, or be displaced; because, the lodging them in the Churchwardens hands, is of ill consequence, in regard Many of them are, and still may be in Such cases lost and Embezled, and those that are left, miserably spoild and Mangled.

Mr Whitehead is chosen Master of the free School here, which is 100£ P an Salary of this Country money, besides perquisites; and I hope he will be made very Easy by this means. And not knowing whether you had a Just and Exact account of the original [*sic*] and progress of the Indian war, I have prevaild upon a Gentleman, very capable of it, and an Eye witness of many ffacts, to give me a Short history of it, in a few daies; which, as soon as I have receivd, I will transmit to the Society, by the first opportunity—

I am sensible this letter is grown too long already; but considering the Several Incidents contain'd in it, and the necessity there

was of placing every thing in a due light, it could Scarce be well avoided, I have no more to add, but my humble thanks to the Most Reverend the President, and the rest of my most worthy Benefactors and Superiors in the Society for all their favours to me and my Earnest Prayrs to Almighty God both for their Temporal and Eternal happyness; and am, Sir

your most humble and most
obedient Servant.

Gideon Johnston

...⁸

[Added in the original close under the signature] I hear Mr Taylor gives out that I have silenced him; which if he has the assurance to say in any of his letters, I solemnly declare it to be absolutely false, having only threatnd him with a Suspension for not going off; and for other matters containd in those Articles, I just now mention'd, which My Ld of London has

Tho I threatnd Mr Taylor with Suspension for his not going to N Carolina yet it was the least of my thoughts to proceed to that Extremity with any of the Societies Missionaries; knowing well, that they would, upon information soon find a way to chastise him more effectually, than I cou'd do, in regard no censure of mine cou'd affect his Salary; but if it did, my great respect for my Superiors in the Society, woud never permit me to go any length this way, further than to admonish & reprove him, & if that wou'd not do, to threaten him, if possible, into a Just Sense of his Duty. Mr Taylor was so willing to go to N. Carolina at first, that he desir'd Mr Guy or any other Brother that cou'd assist him, to supply his Cure for Some Sundays, that he might the sooner put himself in a readiness to go off and accordingly Mr Guy Mr Whitehead & I Supplied his Church for 3 or 4 Sundaies; But upon changing his mind & refusing to go off, he woud have no more of our assistance, tho his Parishrs earnestly desird it; upon which we forebore. And I am lately informd that he refus'd to come to Church, or officiate, tho sent to more than once, By his Parishioners, for that purpose.⁹

⁸ Omitted material refers to the Yamassee Prince.

⁹ Commissary Johnston to the Secretary, Charleston, South Carolina, January 27, 1716, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), B 4, Part 1, pp. 33-46. Recorded in Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), III, February 1, 1716/17, No. 27, pp. 225-228.

XXI

In the letter of April 4, 1716, Taylor and Whitehead reappear, neither the one nor the other under control by the Commissary. They have turned out "firebrands" and remain as "incendiaries" in the Colony, whereas Jones has resolved to return to England. Burnham, the father who wants his children baptized at home and does not want to bring them to the church, can get a Dissenter to give them a valid baptism, and makes the Commissary feel far from home.

Charlestown Apr 4 1716

Sir

I have nothing to add to my last, but that Mr Jones one of the most Illustrious Societies Missionaries told me this day, that he was resolv'd to return home in some little time, which he does Partly for want of health, but chiefly thro' the Scantyness of his Circumstances: and he hopes the Society will not take the advantage of the Standing order, provided in that Case, against him, till he has laid those grievances he lies under with respect to his Circumstances before the Society.

Mr Taylor continues Still the Same unhappy Man, and has added that of a notorious & common Reviler and Slanderer of all his Parishioners and Bretheren, to the rest of his good Qualities; and has been so spiteful and Malicious as not to converse with some of his Parish or even be in the same company with them at my house; tho' it was his undoubted Interest to compose & Settle things by all the mild and Christian Methods he cou'd. He uses me very Sourily and threatens me, as he does all the rest of Mankind; but this, I thank God, gives me not the least uneasyness.

That which gives me much greater trouble is Mr Whiteheads managemt, which I can no longer bear, being an Incendiary and firebrand, not only in my Parish, but among the Clergy, and this very day, perhaps the sparks of a Schism has broke out, which for ought one knows, will kindle into a flame, if not timely prevented. The most Illustrious Society knows what is proper to be done on this occasion; and I will only say, that tho I have often admonished Mr Whitehead to discharge his Duty both as Catechist and SchoolMaster, yet he has never made the least step either in the one or the other: tho he has a Salary of 50£ Ster. from the Society

for the one, and 100£ P. An of this Country mony for the other; and tho he has besides this 200£ Subscriptions from the Country, besides 144£ P an. from the assembly as my curate not to say anything of the presents he gets and my perquisites, that he is continually catching at and He had all of these before my arrival, yet not content with these advantages, which considering his charge having none but a wife to maintain, is in proportion twice better than what I have, yet I must give him 50£ more, if at any time the Country shou'd deprive him of the 144£ P an. And as to the Supply of my Cure, he is resolv'd to take no more than every other turn in reading prayers and preaching: and because he Serv'd my Cure before my Arrival, tho he Scarce preached once in 3 weeks, (the Clergy then in town, who fled thither for fear of the Indians, doing all or most of the Duty that way,) yet he had the assurance to insist upon a Sum of Mony, for Supplying half my Cure whilst I was absent, and I was forced to give him 20£ which I now heartily repent; & not content with this, he did by engaging some of the Clergy on his Side, oblige me, for peace and quietness sake, to enter into articles with him, in hopes that that wou'd quiet him, but nothing will Satisfy him. So that I am more than affraid, I must be forced to dismiss him, as to the Service of my Cure, and Must wholly undertake it myself, tho in very weak & languishing Condition, till my Most Hond Superiors in the Society are pleas'd to Send me a Person of a more quiet & peaceable temper, nor has it been, or ever will be well with the Clergy, whilst he is among us; and I may say the same of Mr Taylor too. Mr. Whitehead has some Hundreds of Pounds already at Interest in this Country; but nothing will content him but to Screw and torment me Every day with fresh demands; and gives out, to Justify his own conduct, that I have at least 1000£ coming in tho he really has more than I have, or any other Clergyman in the Province, by a great deal. Had I known, that he had Mony at interest, at the time, the Advance Mony was order'd for the missionaries, I shou'd have serv'd him, as I did Mr Taylor: And in other matters his behavior has been so insolent and disrespectful that I hope, the Most Illustrious Society will never connive at anything of this kind in any one employ'd by them. I have sent you the inclos'd as a Specimen, of that pass things are brought to, by his

management. My Comfort is, Mr Burnham is a Person of such a Character, that it is no Extraordinary Credit for any Minister to be his ffavourite. Besides, the Baptizing his Children, there being two of them one of Six or 7 years and the other Six months old, and both of them in perfect good health, in his own house, (which was but 3 qrs of an hours easy riding to the Church, and the weather very fair, was what I had resolv'd never to do myself or to Consent to any more and having signified so much to Mr Burnham, the inclos'd is his Answer. I own, I labour'd hard before I went for England, to have this Gentleman & his ffather prosecuted for their Scandalous & abominable practices, of which prosecution he was not entirely discharg'd, till after my arrival. What ill impressions this might have made upon him, I cannot tell; but as I have, in the whole progress of this affair, done nothing but what was my duty; and having an undoubted right to Supply my own cure in all its part, whilst I am upon the place and both able and willing to do it, I think it very hard, that my Curate shoud thwart or contradict me; or for the Sake of any litle perquisite, to betake himself to such vile, clandestine, & pernicious practices.

...¹ our Governour is to go off next week, so that he will not be long behind this. This is all the news that I have at present to acquaint you with; and therefore all that I shall further add is, that I am very much obliged to the most Illustrious Society for their great favour to me, the continuance of which I humbly pray for, & shall endeavour to deserve, and be pleas'd to believe that I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant
Gideon Johnston

Endorsed

Mr Johnston

Charles Town April 4th 1716

reed the 15th June 1716

Mr Jonson

I have Received Your leater and in case I cannot have Mr Whitehead to Creason my Children at my hows I can have them Cresend by a desenter Minister which I dont Dout but they will

¹ Omitted material refers to the Yamassee Prince.

git as sone to Heaven that way as the other which is all from him
that is a lover of all Christians whilst I am

Cha Burnham²

April the 3st 1716

Address To Mr Jonson

Endorsed. Mr Burnham to Mr Johnston enclosed in Mr Johnstons
Letter of the 4th April 1716

XXII

The letter of April 6, 1716, in which the Commissary requests the Society to thank Governor Craven for his assistance to the Church, belongs to the continual solicitations directed to the Bishop of London and other bishops, the Lords Proprietors, the public officials, and to the Venerable Society, which mark the methods of the Commissary in the new surroundings. This manner of appeal was a chief weapon in securing funds.

Charlestown in South Carolina
April 6, 1716

My Lord,

Mr Taylor & Mr Whitehead continue Still very troublesom; as our worthy Agent Councellr Ketelbey & the letter I have written to the Society, will more fully inform yr Lordship.¹ I shou'd undoubtedly have taken some course with both of them before now, but that your Lordships directions to me in both these affairs, will be of the last consequence to the Clergys future peace; in regard

² Gideon Johnston to the Secretary, Charleston, South Carolina, April 4, 1716, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), B 4, Part 1, pp. 226-230. Recorded in Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), III, February 1, 1716/17, No. 28, p. 229.

¹ Taylor's status remained unsettled almost throughout the year 1716. The Commissary's letters were supplemented by a paper "containing some Reasons humbly offered to the Revd Mr Commissary Johnston by the Parishioners of St Andrews, why Mr Ebenezer Taylor, Should be no longer Suffered to officiate in the Sd Parish." See S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), B 4, Part 1, No. 47, pp. 147-151. A report by Agent Kettleby, and a letter from Taylor himself were all carefully weighed by a specially appointed committee of the Society, and on November 16, 1716, it was agreed that Taylor's appointment to North Carolina by the Clergy of South Carolina be confirmed, and that his salary of £80 a year would "commence from his Arrival in North Carolina." See Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), III, October 19, 1716, No. 7, p. 175, and *ibid.*, November 16, 1716, No. 1, p. 177.

a Seasonable animadversion on these two Persons will be a Standing Rule & precedent to others, and will effectually deter them from all factious & unpeacable practices.

What part the Governour, who is now going off, will act upon this occasion I can't tell, tho' I am more than affraid, he will endeavour to Serve Mr Whitehead all he can. But as I only suspect this, from what I observed from some Expressions, which dropped from him with respect to Mr Whitehead, so your Lordship will soon discover by his Conduct, how he stands affected; And I hope, let who will be Mr Whitehead's Advocate, you will never connive at or countenance one of his haughty griping and seditious temper.

I shall not need to repeat here, what I have written in my former letters; nor should I have mentioned Mr Whitehead now, were it not for the trouble he dayly gives me, and indeed I am more than affraid, that I must in a few daies, as weak as I am, take the whole Care upon myself, till your Lordship is pleas'd to send me an other from the Society, which I beg may be as soon as is possible; and if your Lp is pleas'd to send an other for the parish of St Andrews or this It will be very necessary & convenient.

I Earnestly pray for your Lordships health and prosperity in these times of Danger and difficulty; and am with all the Duty and respect imaginable.

My Ever Honourd Lord,
Your Lordships most humble and
most obedient Servant.
Gideon Johnston²

XXIII

Written two days before he was drowned, while taking leave of Governor Craven, this is the Commissary's last letter.

Charlestown, Apr. 21. 1716

Sir.

His Excellency the Honble Mr Craven our Governour, being obliged thro' the necessity of his affairs, to return to England for some litle time. I take this opportunity of acquainting the most Illustrious Society, with his Excellencies great kindness to me in

² Fulham Palace MSS (L.C. Trans.), South Carolina, No. 98.

particular, & I may Say the Clergy in general, for which I beg leave to make this publick Acknowledgment, and shall alwaies own myself obliged to him. I know the Society will not be ill pleas'd with any thing, that the Governours of Provinces do for the good of their missionaries; and therefore I humbly pray, that they wou'd be pleas'd to return him their thanks for his Civilities to me & the rest of us; and to request him also, to continue his favour to us, and to promote all that in him lies, the Cause of God & Religion in concert with us; and to Endeavour to make us as easy, as he can, in our circumstances, which, God knows, are at present but very indifferent.

This is, what he has been, and I hope, will be always inclinable enough to do of himself; But the most Illustrious Societies taking this notice of us, and recommending us in a more particular manner to the care and protection of our Governour, will be a further inducement to him to exert himself (and the rather because he is a member with the greater vigour and industry in our Behalf): And I perswade myself, the Society will not think either improper or unnecessary, to Express an uncommon care and concern (having lately given a noble instance of it in the half years advance) for their poor missionaries here in these distracted and different times.

I have nothing more to add at present, but that I am with all the respect and duty imaginable to the Most Reverend the President, and the rest of my most worthy Superiors and Benefactors in the Society, Sir

Your most humble Servt
Gideon Johnston¹

Endorsed

Mr Johnston

Charles Town 21st April 1716

recd the 16th June 1716

by Governor Craven

¹ Gideon Johnston to the Secretary, Charleston, April 21, 1716, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), B 4, Part 1, No. 65, pp. 245-246. Recorded in Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), III, February 1, 1716/17, No. 29, p. 230.

XXIV

The Commissary wrote an immortal account of his arrival upon a strange shore. Only he could have written fittingly of the irony and tragedy of his death upon the same spot. That his weakness of body prevented his leaving the hold of the vessel, made him a casualty of his service. In the words of his fellow clergymen, "All escaped by singular providence but Mr. Commissary." Perhaps he would have preferred this exit to death in bed in England, so relentless was his determination not to give up his post short of success. A later letter from William Treadwell Bull, who was to succeed Johnston as Commissary, added that the sloop had been found about sixteen leagues from the place where it was wrecked and "the part of Mr Johnston's Body that remained therein was taken out and buried by some ffishermen who found it on the same Bank of Land on which he was near perishing at his first Arrival in the Country."¹

The return of his body to Charleston, and his decent burial in his own churchyard end the Greek epic of his years of devotion to South Carolina. While in the Colony his thoughts were often of England, but back in his beloved "South Britain," his mind turned toward South Carolina. After his years of suffering with severe illnesses he must often have contemplated death in America, but on this occasion of seeing friends sail for home he perhaps had no thought of the treachery of the hour, only of his line of duty.

S. Carol. Charlestown
May 31, 1716

My Lord,

The Clergy of this Province are met upon an unexpected and Melancholy occasions, on the 23d of April last past the Revd Mr Commissary Johnston was unfortunately drowned as he returned with Several other Persons from waiting upon our Hond Governour Mr Craven who that day had taken Shipping in order to go to England, thirty two Persons were in a Small Sloop which by a Gust of wind was oversett this Side our Barr about four or five Leagues from Land; they all Escaped by Singular Providence but

¹ Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), III, February 1, 1716/17, No. 41, pp. 239-240.

Mr Commissary, who through weakness of Body could not come out of the Hold and was drown'd there. Mr Evans our Attorney General was also drowned as he endeavoured by Swimming to reach a small canoe wherein 17 Persons were sav'd. The others were rescued by a ship boat, among whom was our Rd Br Mr Whitehead, who having been four hours upon the keel of the sloop was taken in in time while the sloop was Sinking, what he sufferd made him very ill for some weeks but thanks be to God he is pretty well at present.

As soon as we heard of this dismal Accident we came down some of us that live near the Town, and were in hope of finding the Corps of Mr Commry to give him a Christian and decent Buryal, but the Sea had carryd of the sloop at a great distance so that what we could do for that time was to take care that the Cure of Charles-town might be Regularly Supplyd.

Our Revd Br Mr Guy was thought by us to be the fittest Person to do it, and Assist Mr Whitehead, his Parish of St Helens or Port Royal being Deserted by all its Inhabitants upon the Account of the Warr. Things continue in that Disposition till we have the Honour to Receive your Lordships Commands which we shall always obey with all Submission & Exactness. We appointed at that time that we should meet this day to have the honour of writing this General Letter to your Lordship; and Providence has so orderd that we should hear that some part of Mr Commrys Body did ly at an Island about 10 Leagues beyond our Barr where the Sloop did stop near the shoar, but very full of Sand.

Care has been taken by the Vestry of this Parish (who have behavd themselves with an Extraordinary Affection and Respect for the Memory of their Pastor) to Send and try whether What remains of him may be brought to be Buryd in the Church Yard. We shall wait and see whether we can have that Consolation.

Permit us My lord to Implore your Goodness in the behalf of Mr Commissaryes Widow, four children and family, left in great Afflication and in Deplorable Circumstances, And to take this opportunity of repeating the Constant Testimonies of our ProFOUND Respect and Dutifullness to Your Lordship.

We humbly ask Your Blessing and that you Please to Continue to us the favour of your Protection.

We always Pray for your Health and Prosperity and Subscribe
our selves with all submission.

My Lord
Your Lordships
Most dutifull Sons and most
humble and most obedient Servants
Gilbt Jones Francis Le Jau
C. Ph. De Richebourg Robt Maule
W. Tredwell Bull Thomas Hasell
Will Guy
John Whitehead

ps. June 7, 1716.

My Lord.

I think it is my duty to Let Your Lordship know that with much
difficulty Mr Commrys corps was brought this day to this town &
we are going to Bury him as decently as we can.

I am with all Respect, My lord,

Your Lordships

Most humble and most obedient Servant

Francis Le Jau²

Address

The Right Reverend

John [Robinson] Lord Bishop of London

² Fulham Palace MSS (L.C. Trans.), South Carolina, No. 108. The notice from the churchwardens and vestrymen of St. Philip's, dated November 30, 1716, regretting the "Untimely Death of Mr Commissary Johnston," and asking that he be immediately replaced, appears in *ibid.*, No. 99.

CONCLUSION

IN RETROSPECT, the historian cannot regret the Commissary's sudden death, because he had made his contributions. His letters report the establishment of the Anglican Church in South Carolina. By the time of the American Revolution all of the parishes were supported by colonial funds and the Society had, by agreement, withdrawn its aid, except in the case of a missionary to the German Palatines.

Without knowing it, the Commissary described the building of a new society, opposite, in so many ways to that of the old established order of things "at home." He was a sort of Boswell to this new society, whose every action and circumstance he observed with the eye of one who knew another way of life. His reflections and criticisms were, therefore, informed and sharp. His record is perhaps more valuable in that it was a by-product of another purpose than that of a conscious reporter. In the course of his drive, he uncovered the people's ideas and reviewed government and legislation, taxation, frontier defense, the role of health and disease, poverty and scarcity, war and famine, and the folk strategy of mastering a raw environment.

As a churchman, Johnston, too, belonged to the debtor class. He had to borrow funds and beg gifts from home, secure talent from there, and, in many other ways, like the planter and merchant, he drew on home capital until local funds could accumulate sufficiently to operate the religious economy of the province. The infant Church, like infant industry, drew at first on home funds. With economic development came increasing political independence and, in time, ecclesiastical independence.

It is probable that the losses by death, invalidism, and accident—and the psychological breakdown of the human machine—were not greater among the clergy than those suffered in the purely economic phases of pioneering. In the clerical records, they seem overwhelming because we have the written story.

It may be noted in passing that, although the frontier originates new ideas and practices, it is also true that a new community hangs on to some mores and customs that are outmoded in the homeland. The old society has its own revolutions. The religious ideas of John Locke and the philosophical arguments of the third Lord Shaftes-

bury, in the very years of the Commissary's residence in South Carolina, were changing the mind of England in the direction of toleration and religious skepticism.

In an age of growing religious toleration the Anglican Church in South Carolina was shaped by the practices of local self-government, and by the presence of the Presbyterians and other Dissenters. This modeling can be clearly observed in these letters. "Liberty, property, and the free exercise of their religion" were the rights of all. The relationship of church and state in New England, where separatism came late, in Maryland, in Virginia, in the Middle Colonies, is a story intricate to tell but of utmost importance in establishing knowledge of how the chief American contribution, that of a free church in a free state, came to be. In South Carolina the sequence of events has its own pattern and individuality, but can be clearly followed. Here the Church, supported by the Assembly, by the S.P.G., by the local parishes, became independent of the first two and, after the American Revolution, was entirely supported by the local community. At that time the Episcopal Church was reorganized and, free and independent, was the creation of the voluntary gift, not the tithe.

The churches, Anglican or others, became the people's churches, built in a democratic way. As the frontier spread westward, so did the free churches. The practices laid down in the colonial period, changing subtly as the border line between church and state was redrawn again and again, finally emerged into the composite pattern of religious freedom known today. In the fields of education, the civil liberties, the courts, taxation, and other boundaries, the authority of state *vs.* church is ever and again challenged or restated, but moderation and compromise direct decision and agreement. The lessons learned through "dungeon, fire and sword" can be discerned in folk practice in the Commissary's papers.

CALENDAR

1671-1707

Commissary Gideon Johnston was born about 1671 in Tuam, Ireland. His father, "a very worthy Clergyman, of good Reputation and Loyalty," died while Johnston was still a minor.¹ Prior to his going to England, Johnston himself had served a cure in Tuam, and had showed himself a man of "good temper and Learning, and affection to the present Government."²

1707

Early in the year, at the age of "about 36," Johnston came to England because of "the report he had heard of the great need of Ministers" in the plantations.³

While waiting for an appointment to the colonies, he found difficult in supporting his "numerous ffamily consisting of ten or Eleven Persons."⁴

July 15. Johnston appeared before the Society, carrying a letter from Henry Compton, Bishop of London, which asked that the S.P.G.'s "resolution of sending no more married men over with their families" be excepted in his case, since he had come from Ireland "entirely Ignorant of that resolution."⁵

September 19. Johnston again appeared before the Society, but was discharged from attendance when the Bishop of London informed them that he was sending Johnston as commissary to South Carolina.⁶

On the same day, the Governor and Council of South Carolina wrote the Society asking for more ministers, giving an account of their repealing the old Church Act and making another for establishing the Church, and asking the Society to "promote" the ratifying of the said act in London.⁷

¹ William King, Archbishop of Dublin to the S.P.G., May 13, 1707, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 3, LII, No. 97.

² John Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam, Dublin, Ireland, July 29, 1707, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 3, XCI, No. 160.

³ William King, *op. cit.*

⁴ Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), I, September 19, 1707, No. 3, p. 303. The size of Johnston's family is somewhat puzzling. On May 13, 1707, he was to proceed to South Carolina with his friend, Robert Maule, but "having a wife and four Childn he cou'd not be ready" (William King, *op. cit.*). His letter of July 5, 1710, mentions his family "ten in number," which may have included the Negro man and woman listed as perquisites to St. Philip's; on January 27, 1711, there are "8 to be fed" in his household besides servants, making "11" in all; his Memorial in 1713 notes that he "has his wife and three other Children to maintain at Carolina" besides the two boys at school in England. At the time of his death, in 1716, Mrs. Johnston is left "with her two daughters and a niece, besides her two sons in England." In 1716, therefore, as in 1707, Johnston had four children. The mention of the niece in 1716 suggests that the varying numbers included relatives and servants.

⁵ Henry Compton, Bishop of London, to the Secretary, July 15, 1707, in S.P.G. MSS (L.C. Trans.), A 3, LXX, No. 130.

⁶ Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), I, September 19, 1707, No. 3, p. 303.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, December 17, 1708, No. 2, p. 355.

November 21. Johnston, still in England, appealed to the Society, having exhausted his small "store . . . insomuch that he and his Family must have Starved" if they had not been relieved by the Bishop of London.⁸ The Society granted him £50, "he giving Security that he will take the first Opportunity of conveying himself & Family to Charles Town aforesaid in S. Carolina."⁹

December 19. Johnston acquainted the Society that he was "suddenly going away to S. Carolina."¹⁰

1708

Early in the year Johnston and his family arrived in South Carolina.

September 17. Governor Nathaniel Johnson reported to the royal government on the condition of Carolina, which had a total of "9,580 souls; of which there are 1,360 free men, 900 free women, 60 white servant men, 60 white servant women, 1,700 white free children, 1,800 negro men slaves, 1,100 women negro slaves, 500 Indian men slaves, 600 Indian women slaves, 1,200 negro children slaves, and 300 Indian children slaves."¹¹

December 9. Colonel Edward Tynte was commissioned Governor of the Carolinas, replacing Nathaniel Johnson, but it was more than a year before he came out to the Colony.

1709

October 20. Governor Nathaniel Johnson addressed the Assembly, protesting his removal, and making a bitter attack on Dissenter action against his administration.

November 11. Johnston wrote Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, asking financial assistance.

1710

February 3. The Society, at Burnet's instance, granted Johnston a gratuity of £20 sterling.

April. The Assembly convened under Governor Tynte, passed a Free School Act, one to pay the arrears of St. Philip's and other parishes from the public treasury, and added £50 colonial per annum to Johnston's salary, the money appropriated to be paid out of duties on skins and furs.

July 4. Johnston's eldest son, aged about thirteen, went home to England for further schooling. Placed in charge of Captain Cole, he arrived in England without funds, but the Bishop of London assumed responsibility for his education. Apparently the boy remained in England where, in 1716, aged nineteen, he assisted in the settlement of his father's estate.

Summer. Governor Tynte died and, after a stormy battle between Robert Gibbes and Colonel Thomas Broughton, Gibbes was chosen temporary governor.

⁸ Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), November 21, 1707, I, No. 8, p. 310.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, December 19, 1707, No. 5, p. 314.

¹¹ McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719*, pp. 477-481. McCrady has been used for other details of colonial affairs listed in the calendar.

1711

March 14. Charles Craven was notified of his appointment as Governor of Carolina by the proprietors. Gibbes continued to the end of the year.

May. The Assembly convened, and an act was passed for building a new brick church for St. Philip's. The act was merely permissive, appointing a commission to receive contributions. No public funds were involved.

April 21. Mrs. Johnston left for England, apparently to further her husband's interests. The *Loyal Johnson*, on which she sailed, was captured by the French and, according to Francis Le Jau, her husband was inconsolable, but Mrs. Johnston "had the good luck to escape" and delivered to the Society some letters and papers she was carrying. Mrs. Johnston's hardy character is noted throughout the letters. According to the Commissary, she wrote the first letter to the Bishop of Salisbury "by my direction"; she took his dictation when he was ill; she "greatly helped me by drawing pictures" and selling them, and finally, her visit to England helped to place Johnston on the Society's pay roll.

September 22. The Tuscarora massacre broke out in North Carolina.

October 26. Governor Gibbes called the Assembly which voted £4,000 for defense and sent Colonel John Barnwell to North Carolina with a small body of militia and 218 Cherokees, 79 Creeks, 41 Catawbass, and 28 Yamassees.

November 29. Bishop Gilbert Burnet brought before the S.P.G. Mrs. Johnston's memorial "on behalf of her husband," who was appointed a missionary of the Society at £50 sterling a year, allowed a curate and schoolmaster to assist him, at £30 per year, and given a gratuity of £30.¹²

1712

January 28. Colonel Barnwell defeated the Tuscaroras in Craven County, North Carolina.

April 2. The Assembly met under Craven. Its first measure was another act relating to the Established Church, empowering commissioners to hear and settle all differences concerning the election of ministers, recognizing the jurisdiction of Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, and his successors. This Assembly also strengthened the act for free schools and the act for a free library, appointed a health officer for the Colony, reënacted the defunct *habeas corpus* act of Charles II, revised the poor laws, and appointed an agent, Abel Kettleby, to attend to the affairs of the province in England. Finally Nicholas Trott's codification of the English statutes pertaining to the Colony was incorporated into "An act to put in force in this Province the several statutes of the Kingdom of England or South Britain therein particularly mentioned," substituting a tried system of law for the more theoretical "Constitutions" of Shaftesbury and Locke.

June 17. Johnston's younger son left for schooling in England.

1713

In January, a second uprising of the Tuscaroras was put down, and the survivors left the province, joining the Five Nations of the Iroquois in New York to form the Six Nations.

¹² Journal of S.P.G. (L.C. Trans.), II, November 29, 1711, No. 4, p. 120.

March 4. Johnston left for England with the endorsement of the clergy of South Carolina and Governor Craven.

June 2. Richard Johnston wrote of his father's arrival in England, and of his serious illness which prevented him from visiting the Society.

June 3. The Society, after due consideration, agreed that Johnston's trip seemed necessary.

June 19. Johnston presented the enlarged "Instructions" of the South Carolina clergy to the Society, and they were referred to a committee which reported on September 18, 1713. Final consideration was given on October 2, 1713.

October 30. Johnston was given a three months' leave by the Society to "goe to Ireland for the Settlement of his Private affairs there."¹³

1714

January 22. Dr. Francis Le Jau wrote from Carolina that "Johnson's parish-ioners want his presence, the clergy do what they can but the People are not satisfied."¹⁴

June 14. The Society ordered Johnston, and his newly appointed assistant, John Whitehead, to attend the next meeting "to Shew cause of their delay in not proceeding on their Voyage" to Carolina.¹⁵

June 18. Johnston and Whitehead attended the Society. Johnston assured "the Bord that he would make the utmost dispatch to return to his Cure," and Whitehead explained that, since his appointment "there hath not been any Ship sailed for Carolina, but that he will take the first Opportunity of Transporting himself thither."

July 16. Johnston's letter giving his "reasons for staying so long in England" was referred to the Bishop of London.

August 20. Whitehead asked for £5 worth of small tracts to distribute, which were allowed "In Case the said Mr Whitehead shall sail for Carolina before the next meeting of the Society."¹⁶

September 8. Chief Justice Nicholas Trott arrived in Carolina from England, having obtained from the proprietors new powers for himself, including appointive rights, the requirement of his consent for all laws, and the provision that without his presence at the Council no quorum could be called. The Dissenters, Boone and Beresford hurried to England to protest.

1715

Johnston informed the Society that the proprietors had awarded him £100 colonial currency per year and 500 acres of land.

April 5. The Yamassee War began with a sudden attack on Port Royal and St. Bartholomew's in South Carolina. The Yamassees had been allies of the colonists during Queen Anne's War.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, October 30, 1713, No. 7, p. 332.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, June 1, 1714, No. 10, p. 383.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, June 1, 1714, No. 14, p. 385.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, August 20, 1714, No. 11, p. 393.

May 10. The Assembly proclaimed martial law to extend no further than military affairs. The Palatines, pleading poverty, asked royal assistance in putting down the Indian insurrection.

May 25. Governor Eden of North Carolina called for volunteers to aid South Carolina.

June 13. Captain George Chicken defeated the Yamassees at Goose Creek.

June 23. Johnston wrote the Society en route for Carolina.

July 13. The plight of Carolina was laid before George I. Meanwhile, Governor Craven had sent Francis Holmes to New England and Arthur Middleton to Virginia to obtain assistance. James Moore was appointed in charge of the Carolina militia consisting of 600 whites and 400 Negroes, and H.M.S. *Valour* arrived in Charleston harbor with 160 small arms, 10 barrels of powder, and 25 casks of shot.

July 15. Middleton arrived with 120 men from Virginia. The Society ordered the advance of a half-year's salary to relieve the "present distress" of their Carolina missionaries.¹⁷

July 18.—Abel Kettleby, agent for Carolina, petitioned the Lords Commissioners of Trade for the assistance and protection of the crown.

September 30. Johnston wrote from Charleston, having arrived there after a "very miserable" three months' crossing.

1716

February. The Carolina Assembly reconvened. Yamassee hostilities were almost at an end, with 400 whites as casualties.

March 6. In a retrenchment, due to a growing debt, the Society discharged Whitehead, Johnston's assistant.

March 29. The proprietors notified Craven that Robert Johnson had been appointed governor. Craven refused to leave during the emergency.

April 25. Commissary Johnston was drowned, while taking leave of Governor Craven as he sailed for England.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, III, July 15, 1715, No. 8, pp. 72-73.

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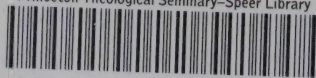
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